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SOME
DISCOURSES
 UPON
Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson ;
 Occasioned by the Late
FUNERAL SERMON
 OF THE
 Former upon the Later. n n n

Remember how severely he that was Meekness it self treated the *Scribes and Pharisees* ; and he having charged his Followers to beware of their Leaven, It is Obedience to his Command to search out that Leaven, that it may leaven us no more. And when any of a Party are so Exalted in their own Conceit, as to despise and disparage all others, the *Love* the Ministers of the Gospel owe the Souls of their Flocks, obligeth them to *Unmask* them.

Dr. Burnet in his Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws, of the Church of Scotland, p. 4.

*Si quis est, qui dictum in se inclementius
 Existimavit esse, sic Existimet ;
 Responsum non dictum esse quia læsit prior,
 ——— desinat lacerare :*

*Habeo alia multa, quæ nunc condonabitur ;
 Quæ proferentur post, si perget ledere.
 Terent. in Prolog. ante Eunuchum.*

LONDON,
 Printed in the Year MDCXC V.

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PREFACE.

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IF it surprize the Reader to see so large a Book written against Dr. B. and Dr. T. it will surprize him more to tell him, That I could more easily have made it larger, than have confined it within this Compass. For those Two Gentlemen are not barren Subjects, but furnish Matter in choice and plenty for History against themselves; and though these Discourses which I have made upon them are not an *History*, yet the Reader will find they are in part *Historical*; and may, in some respects, serve to inform and entertain inquisitive Searchers after Truth, till it may be convenient to publish a compleat History of the Things, which some Men have done since the late Revolution, in Church and State.

But besides the many Passages of Story, which the Reader will meet with in the following Treatise, he will also find I have had occasions to make several incidental Discourses; some *Theological*, some *Moral*, and some of a *Political Nature*, to confute or expose the loose Doctrines, or Expressions of those Men; against whom, as I have been provoked to draw up Two several Charges, or Informations, which somewhat blemish their Honour; so I hope I have proved them in every Part by very good Evidence. And as some Tryals are longer than others, according to the Number and Length of Depositions; so if this Book of mine, which contains as it were so many Depositions against them, hath proved longer than I would have had it, that is none of my Fault.

I know very well it will be called a *Libel*, and a *Defamatory Libel*, but I care not for that; since many excellent Books were so miscalled in the Times of former Usurpations, which detected the ill Men of those Times, and their Hypocrisies and Iniquities to the World. And besides, to speak properly and justly of the Nature of a *Libel*, all Books ought not to be so called, which expose Men's Reputations; but such only as expose them falsely, injuriously, and out of pure malice: But this Book, though in some Things it blemishes the Fame and Reputation of these Men,

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yet it doth it truly, justly, and deservedly; and so far am I from bearing the Person of the one, or the Memory of the other any Malice, That had I been acted by that evil Passion, I could have written against them both much sooner, and have been better provided to write against them now. Men that do ill Things openly, and with an high Hand, though under never so splendid Pretences, ought to hear of them; especially when they go about to make *Saints* and *Heroes* of one another, with a Design to cover their own Iniquities, and deceive the People. When this happens to be the Case, Charity to the Peoples Souls, and the Love of the Publick, obliges all Lovers of Truth and Righteousness to unvizard such Men, and expose them in their true Appearance before their credulous and deluded Admirers. And as I have endeavoured in the following Discourses to do so, by these two popular Divines; so I assure the Reader I have done it purely upon these generous Motives; wishing, with all my Heart, That neither of them had given so many and publick Provocations to undeceive any part of the World, by writing such severe Truths.

I foresee very well what Sorts of Men will set themselves to inveigh against it, and how it will ruffle our Funeral Orator, and raise a Storm among the Men of *his Latitude*; but I am not solicitous about the Entertainment it will meet with among them: I hope it will do good among some that are misled by them; they are not too far gone, and hinder others, both now and hereafter, from being misled by that Sort of Men. For I have written it not only for the Times present, but for Posterity, and future Times; when I doubt not but Books, which do less good now, shall then do much more; when *Libels* so mis-called shall be ourriously sought after, and reprinted in greater Numbers; and then inform the penitent World, not only what unrighteous Things have then been lately acted among us, but by what unrighteous Men, and upon what unrighteous Principles they also have been done.

The Remarks on the late Funeral Sermons, &c. The Letter to the Author of the Funeral Sermon at Westminster Abby: These Discourses, not to mention others long since Printed, will let Posterity see what kind of Men our Preacher, and his Heroe, and his Hero's Successor, not to mention others, were; and what pernicious Doctrines were vented by them all, and so help to convert the Lovers of Truth, as those called Libels in former Times converted many,
and

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and helped to bring the Nation to its Wits; and the exil'd King back to his Throne.

I could name several of my Acquaintance who were converted by the *Libels* so called in the *Long Usurpation*; one more particularly, who, by God's Blessing, happen'd to be converted by the accidental Reading of one of the meanest of them, and Bishop Hall's Answer to *Smectymnus*, which was reckoned a dangerous *Libel*: And if these Discourses of mine happen, by God's good Providence, now or hereafter to disabuse but one mistaken Soul, and occasion his Conversion, I shall think all the unwilling Pains I have taken in Writing of them very well bestowed. I find Mr. *Altham*, in his late Recantation for Licensing Mr. *Hill's* Book, sorrowfully confessing, That Dr. *Burnet's* Honour and Function were much Blacken'd by it; but if this Book of mine hath also Blacken'd his Honour, it hath Blacken'd it with Matters of Truth; and he must blame himself for it, who hath given so many just Occasions and Provocations to all Sorts of Men to Blacken him in all Places * both at home and abroad. But for his Sacred Function, for which I have much more veneration than he hath himself, that cannot suffer by what I have said of him, because it will remain Sacred and Venerable, whatever I have proved him to be, nor lose any more of the respect which is due to it, because he is a Bishop, than human Nature can lose of the Honour and Dignity which is due to it, because he is a Man. Though Bishops turn Rebels, and make Rebels and Outlaws Bishops, yet I must reverence the Function, by reason I think it of Divine Institution: But notwithstanding all my Reverence for it, I think it ought not to be a Cover and Protection for ill Men, who pervert whole Nations, and Churches; especially for insolent and cruel Men, who persecute their Brethren, for no other Reason but because they profess and practise the same Doctrines which they themselves formerly taught the People; and because they have endeavoured to convince the World, by their Books, That these Men are Apostates, and have done both our Church and Religion much more harm than they can do it good. These are the Traytors to that very Order which some of them have Usurped, and seem ready to give up the *uninterrupted Succession* upon which the Priesthood depends, if they may but by gaining one Sort of Dissenters better secure their Baronies, and Reven-

* See the Character
M. L. G. hath given
of him in the
Advertisement
before his Letter
to Mons. Thave-
not, and after-
wards, p. 87, 88.

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nues, which they mind more than the Honour of their Order, or the Catholick Rights of the Church. What else means their Courting at such a fulsome Rate those in one Kingdom, who have destroyed it in another? Why else are they so ready to treat it away under a Pretence of *Union* with Dissenters, and in Complement to Foreign Churches? Why, contrary to former Times, do they suffer some *French Ministers*, who have not had Episcopal Ordination, to Preach and Administer the Sacraments at the Church in the *Savoy*, and its Dependences, which by the Act of Uniformity is a Member of the Church of *England*? What means this new Discovery of Comprehension in so many of the late *Funeral Sermons*, which the Convocation rejected? Why do they exhort Lay-men to support, and Clergy-men to comply with Presbytery in *Scotland*, as I have shewed our Preacher, and his Heroe did? Or lastly, What means the new

* See the Book of the Revelation paraphrased, with Annotations on each Chapter. Lond. printed by Rich. Welington at the Lute in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1694.

Hypothesis of * *Witnessing Churches*, That because the Churches in *Savoy* and *France*, which have no Bishops, have born their Testimony against Popery, therefore Bishops by uninterrupted Succession, and Priests of Episcopal Ordination, (which have been the signal Blessing of the Church of *England*) are not necessary to the Church. At the Rate that Annotator writes, in very many Places of his Book and Preface, we must blend our pure Orders and Priesthood, not only with Ministers who derive their *Mission* from Presbyters, but with Ministers who derive them ultimately from meer Lay-men, as many of the first Reformers both in *France* and *Savoy* were. Nay, at this rate of talking, I know not what is necessary to Christianity, either as a *Sect* professing Doctrines, or a *Society* which Antiquity; so much undervalued by him, called the Catholick Church. For *Anabaptists*, *Quakers* and *Socinians*, have born their Testimony against Popery, and will bear it; and therefore in his wild way of Writing, not only Bishops but Priests, nor Episcopal Orders only, but all Orders, with Infant Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, may be parted with, as *Temporary Ordinations* for comprehension of all Sects that pretend to be Christian, and witnesses against the Church of *Rome*. Nay, this dangerous Hypothesis of the witnessing Churches may, for any Thing I see to the contrary, be improved to the Advantage of the *Jews*, to prove them to be the Church of God: For they have born, and

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and will bear their Testimony against Popery ; and great Numbers of them have died Martyrs against it in the Inquisition. I need but mention the *Mahometans*, who abhor Popery for its Image-Worship, and the Invocation of Saints, as much as the *Witnessing Churches* : And therefore it is a mad way of arguing to cure us of our *Fondness* (as he is pleased to call it) for our uninterrupted Episcopal Succession, because the *Witnessing Churches* have the Misfortune to want it. This is the Argument of the Fox in the Fable, who had lost his Tail ; and had Men argued in this manner in the Primitive Times, they might have laid aside both the Sacraments in the Church, because great Numbers of *Catechumens* died Martyrs, or Witnesses, against the Idolatry of *Rome Pagan* ; which, notwithstanding all the Comments and Annotations of some Men, I believe was much more Abominable than that of the modern Papal *Rome*.

This Annotator I take to be one of those Men who drive on for Comprehension ; and with those *Latitudinarians* it was, and more particularly Dr. Tillotson, that Dr. Sherlock

(a) faith, Their Majesties, and more particularly the Queen, who had more leisure for such Thoughts, were inspired with great and pious Designs to serve the Church of England, whatever some Men might suspect, though it may be not perfectly in their own way. (a) *Temple Sermon upon the Death of the Queen, p. 16, 17.*

But why does he not tell us what this way was ? And whether it was consistent with his *Queries*, his Book of *Union and Communion*, and his Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's unreasonableness of Separation from the Church of England ? Dr. Bates the Non-conformist tells us, (b) It was to unite Christians in

Things essential to Christianity ; but he doth not tell us what those Essential Things were, or whether they were Things Essential to Christianity, as a Society, as well as a Sect. (b) *Sermon upon the Death of the Queen, p. 20.*

But I desire plainly to know what those Things were which they thought Essential to Christianity, and in which they were to be United : For I am afraid they had a Design to form an Union against the Catholick Church ; and in order to it, give up some Things as not Essential, which many as learned and good Men as Dr. T. and these Doctors, would have thought Essential to Christianity ; and that their parting with them would have involved in it a parting with the *Lord's Day*, and *Infant Baptism*, nay, all *Baptism* ; and the *Lord's Supper* ; with the Doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* ; and have done no good Office to the

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the Power of the Keys, nor to the Divine Authority of the holy Scriptures, which depends so much upon *Tradition*, That they themselves alone are not *alone sufficient* to prove it without the Testimony of the Church.

It was my Design in writing these Discourses to aim at all the Men of this *broad Way* of Union, as well as against those Two whom I have detected, and thereby to warn the rest of the Clergy against them. For, God be thanked, the main Body of our Clergy are Men of quite different Spirits; they do not persecute their old Brethren for their strict Doctrines, but pity and help to support them. They know by Experience how hard it was for Conscience to

** Among the worthy Men I here describe may justly be reckoned the late learned Mr. Wharton, who put out Archbishop Laud's Works. Dr. Dove, who, as all the World knows, took the new Oath with so much reluctance; and once turned Dr. B. out of his House, for arguing as he thought too warmly for the Government. And more particularly Dr. Scot, of worthy Memory, who first refused the Bishoprick of Chester, because he could not take the Oath of Homage, and afterwards another Bishoprick, the Deanry of Worcester, and a Prebendary of the Church of Windfor, because they all were Places of deprived Men; and therefore Dr. Isham, in his Funeral Sermon, did improperly make them attendants upon the Obsequies of the late blessed Queen, as he is pleased to say. To these may be added the learned Dr. Busby. I dare not name the Living.*

overcome the Difficulties of the new Oath, and therefore they * retain very tender Compassions for those who could not overcome them, and honour them in their Hearts, as Men of Principles, who are most Faithful to the *English* Monarchy, Zealous for the Honour and Prosperity of the Royal Family, and the Catholick Doctrines, and Rights of the Church. Nay, I have Reason to hope, that they wait for the *Times of healing and refreshing*, when they may come again to Communion with them under the *Rightful* Bishops, who never did betray their Order, or act in contradiction to the Doctrines of the Church. I know in some measure what I say to be true; and if any Man doubt of it, let him consider what

Inclinations the Convocation discovered at its first Sitting down.

But these Two Men, and the rest, against whom these Discourses are intended, are to be considered as Men of quite another Spirit: For they revile and persecute their old Brethren, and say all manner of Evil falsely against them, for their Principles sake,

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sake, and for their adhering to them. If they are to preach before a great Audience, especially upon a solemn Occasion, then they will be sure to inveigh against them, and as they think expose them for their *Paucity*, or *want of Reason*, or *Peruissness*, or, which is very strange, for being *dangerous to the Government*, which it is impossible for so small a Number of Men to be, unless they have Truth on their side. I have shewed, in several Instances, how this persecuting Spirit discovered it self in these Two Men, upon whom I have discoursed; and how it possesseth another of them may be seen in his (a) Funeral Sermon (a) P. 18. at the Abby before the Lords and Commons; in which he tells them of a *domestick Discontent which Reigns in those whose Resentments are stronger than their Reasons*.

Might he not as well have said, *My Lords and Gentlemen, we are now engaged in a Foreign War, and it concerns you to provide new Laws against our domestick Malecontents, whose Malice against the Government is of more dangerous Consequence to it than their Arguments, and their Resentments stronger than their Reasons. And I pray you let them know, (b) That if they are for Suffering, they shall have Suffering enough.*

(b) This was the Message which Hugh Peters brought from Cromwel, and the Army, to the London Ministers, before the Tryal of Charles the First.

I would not have my Reader think that I put this Gloss upon his Words without Cause; for he hath been a Persecutor of his old Brethren, both by Word and Deed, ever since they were deprived. It was he that egged on Justice Tully, when Vicar of St. Martins, to drive a Meeting of Sufferers out of his Parish. I could name the Gentleman that read his Letter to that purpose, over the Justice's Shoulder, as he stood reading it in the Street; and this Spirit of Persecution in him proceeds from a Spirit of *Envy*, which makes him he cannot endure the Men of strict Suffering Principles; because they, and their Reasonings, which he seems to undervalue so much, but really stands in awe of, are contrary to him in all his Designs. I say, he stands in awe of their Reasonings, and therefore hath taken more pains than any one Man among them to suppress them, by hunting out the private Presses, and getting their Books seized.

I have Reprinted a Paper in the (c) Appendix, first (c) N. IX. published by the *Messenger of the Press*, That Posterity may see from an Authentick Testimony, what a severe Inqui-

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sion hath been made against their Books, and how many of them have been destroyed. No Man knew this better than himself; and therefore it was equal Intolerance and Disingenuity in him; to disparage their Reasons; when he was so conscious to himself of the Endeavours he and others had used to stifle them in the Birth. Certainly there must be something formidable in their Books, and some Reasonings in them, which these *Men of Latitude* cannot well Answer, that they use so much diligence to suppress them, at a time when *Atheists, Hereticks, and Republicans*, print and publish what they please, with little or no molestation. Why all this ado to suppress their Books more than others, if their Reasonings are not strong? But because he saith, That *their Resentments are stronger than their Reasons*, I have concluded my *Appendix* with

(a) *N. X.* a (a) Catalogue of their Books which lie unanswered, and he may try his strength to answer any one of them when he will. Some of his Brethren have published their Reasons; and been soundly baffled by the Men of Resentment, as he calls them; but he never thought fit to give them Opportunity of answering any of his, which makes it intolerable in him to Censure their Reasons in publick, but especially in such an august Assembly,

(b) *In a Book entitled, A Vindication of some among our selves, against the false Principles of Dr. Sherlock.* before he had published his own, or answered those Things which some years since have been objected to him out of his own Writings.

I have taken this Method in the following Discourses of objecting many Things against Dr. Burnet, and his *Heroe*, out of their own Writings, particularly about the *Nature of the Christian Religion*; and to that which I have produced out of the former Reflections upon *Varillas* concerning Religion, I desire this may be added out of the first Dialogue of his *modest and free Conference*, printed 1669. In that Dialogue, he thus answers the following Objection. *N. The Law of Nature teacheth us to defend our selves, and so there is no need of Scripture for it. C. This is marvelous Dealing; in other Things you always flee from Reason as a carnal Principle to Scripture, but here you quit Scripture, and appeal to it. But it seems you are yet a Stranger to the very Design of Religion, which is to tame and mortify Nature, and it is not a natural Thing, but supernatural. Therefore the Rules of defending and advancing of it, must not be borrowed from Nature, but Grace. The Scriptures are also strangely contrived, since they ever tell us of suffering Persecution without giving your Exceptions that*

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that we may resist when we are in a Capacity. And I appeal to your Conscience, whether it be a likelier way to advance Religion by Fighting, or Suffering; since a carnal Man can do the one, and not the other.

This is a further Proof of that part of the Charge I have drawn up against him, in the beginning of the first Chapter, of his being a *Man of Contradictions to himself*; and I will beg the Reader's leave to prove it with a later Testimony. In his Funeral Sermon on *D. Tillotson*, he censures the deprived Bishops, but as I have shewed very unjustly, for leaving their Authority with their Chancellors, and tendering Oaths by them, which they thought unlawful. One would think he should not do that himself, which he had so publickly objected to them; yet having lately declared to a Clergyman I could name, That *his Hand should rot off before he gave him Institution*; at last, to prevent an Inconvenience which otherwise must have come upon him, he left his Authority with his Chancellor to do it, and by him gave him that Institution which he had said with a solemn Imprecation he would never do. This Story also shews him to be a Man of great Passions, which often hinder him from Writing as well as Speaking coolly; and this unhappy Temper of his, which is another part of my Charge against him, will appear from what he said in a Conference he had with that Clergyman, of whom I here declare I think no worse, because he thought so ill of him.

“ He began with telling him that he was a Church-robber, and
“ that he came over the Wall, and not in at the Door. Then he
“ proceeded to call him Villain, and said he had been guilty of a
“ base and villanous Action, worse by much than robbing on the
“ High-way, and that he would use his utmost endeavour to keep
“ him out of the Church. He further called him Simonaical and
“ Sacrilegious Rascal; and said, he knew he must give Money to
“ the Bishop of London's Servants to obtain his Orders. Then he
“ proceeded to Reflections on the Bishop of London, and fell very
“ foully on the *Doctors Commons*; saying, he had procured a Fa-
“ culty of those *Rogues*. To which, when the Gentleman replied,
“ That he obtained it from the *Dean and Chapter of Canterbury*, he
“ passionately answered, It was the same Thing, for that they only
“ granted it for the sake of Money. He further told him, It should
“ be his continual Business to expose him as long as he lived to his
“ Clergy; and that he would render him as black as he was in
“ his Gown and Cassock, and take all Opportunities to do it.

Yea.

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Yet after all this Storm of Fury against him, as the worst of Men in his Esteem, he gave him Institution by his Chancellor; when, if he was convinced of his Mistake, he ought to have condemned himself for his rash Imprecation, and made the Gentleman an honorary Satisfaction for the Injury he had done him, by giving him Institution himself. But if he persisted in his ill Opinion of him, then, by his own Rule, he ought not to have devolved his Authority upon his Chancellor, who did that in his Name, and by his Commission and Order, which he thought a Sin to do himself.

The Account the learned Mr. Hill hath given of his Printing his *Discourse on the Divinity and Death of Christ* much changed, and otherwise than he spoke it before his Clergy, proves another part of my Charge of his playing Tricks with his own Writings. The like I have been assured he did with a Sermon which he preached somewhere in *London*, in which he gave the People an Account what the Convocation was to do. And were it not to make a Book of my Preface, I could further shew his partial and biased way of Writing, and his proneness to write his own Inventions for Truth, from some Observations upon his Book of Travels, which I have heard a Gentleman of great Reputation, lately come from Travelling, make upon several Passages in it. And when I consider how apt he is to write *Lives*, and to write his own Imaginations and Opinions in them, I could not but bewail the Fate of the late honourable Mr. *Boyle*, after that of Bishop *Bedel*, should he also write his Life, as Report saith he Designs to do. And I cannot but wish, for the Honour of that great Man's Memory, that his honourable Relations would oblige some Person of unblemished Reputation to write it, whom the World hath no reason to suspect, even when he writes Truth.

Having mentioned Bishop *Bedel's* Life, in which I think it is plain our Author had but too great a Part, I am obliged to let the World know, That I had the remarkable Observations upon it, which I have put in my following Discourses, out of a M. S. entitled, **OBSERVATIONS UPON BISHOP BEDEL'S LIFE.** The first Ground of which were some Observations formerly made upon it, by the late learned Mr. *Fulman*, who, as I am informed, sent them to Dr. *Burnet*, though he was never pleased to take Notice of them, and the Reason I think is pretty plain, why he did not. I must also acknowledge, That I had that Account of his foul Dealing

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Dealing with a M. S. in *Bennet College* from a Learned hand, who compared the Printed Copy, and the Original together. And in truth when one considers what *Mons. le Grand*, *Antony Harmer*, *Mr. Fulman*, and others, have animadverted upon our Author's Historical Works, one need not wonder, That he who must needs be Conscious to himself of their Discoveries, and it may be of more such, should speak so much in derogation of *History*, as he lately did to a young Student, who hath since given the World (a) an excellent Proof of his mighty Genius (a) *Noticia* for Historical Studies and Antiquity. Indeed if all *Monastica* Men had written Histories, as *Dr. Burnet* knows he hath done, he might well speak against the Study of it, as a Thing which is in it self so uncertain, and not to be depended upon. If he measured other Historians by himself, he might well think that all Histories are full of the same Vices that his are; and all Historians as little to be trusted upon their own bare Authority, as he really is. But to pass from his greater to his lesser Works; I cannot but here call to mind the Speech which he made, for my Lord *Russel*. When he was examined about it, as I remember, at Council Board, he confessed he gave his Lordship the Minutes of it; but one is bound in Charity, and Respect to his Lordship's Memory, to believe that the Doctor made it all, and that his Lordship never considered it; because it is so like the Doctor in the whole Texture of it, having in it something very impertinent, something questionable as to the Truth of it, and something which looks very like contradicting himself.

I refer the Reader for what I say, to (b) *Entitled, the Lord Russel's Speech vindicated. London printed for W. Crocke, 1683.* the (b) Paper mentioned in the Margent; and to say no more of it, the Doctor so trinketed in that Affair with his Lordship, That *Dr. Tillotson* was obliged to write that Famous Letter to him a little before his Death, and afterwards carried it to the Secretary of State, and my Lord *Hallifax*, then the Favourite Minister for his Vindication; and so offended he pretended to be at him for something he did to my Lord, that he said to a Person of great Reputation of my Acquaintance, *He would never trust a Scotch-man more for his sake.* I know no Reason he had to reflect upon his Country, which hath been so fruitful in brave Men, and Persons of the greatest Honour; but however he trusted him after that Resolution, and not only trusted him, but let himself be too much influenced by him since the Revolution.

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To my Account of this Speech, I may add his most unjust exaggerating Character of the Prosecution of the Dissenters in *London*, at the later end of *Charles II's* Reign. He describes it in

Terms big enough for the *Decian* or *Dioclesian* Persecution: * For he saith, it was reasonable to think * *At the later end of his Pref. it contributed not a little to fill up the Measures of the to Lactantius. Sins of the Church, and to bring down severe Strokes upon the Members of it.* — that they let themselves

loose to all the Rages of a mad Persecution — to gratify their own Revenges. — *And that they ought seriously to profess their Repentance of this their Fury, in Instances that might be as visible as their Rage hath been publick and destructive.*

Hear O ye furious, mad, raging, revengeful Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials, Church-wardens, and Parish-Priests, within the Liberties of *London*! Give an Account of the Blood you have shed, and the Families you have ruined. But who can believe a Writer of Story at a greater distance, that to gratify Passions and serve Turns will misrepresent such late Transactions, and at such an impudent Rate as this? I have shewed out of his *Reflections on Varillas*, that he counts it but a small and venial Fault in an *Historian*, if he *departs from the exact Laws of History, in setting out the best Side of his own Party, and the worst of his Adversary, and in slightly touching the Failures of the one, and severely aggravating those of the other.* This he hath done throughout his Funeral Sermon of *Dr. Tillotson*, and given me occasion to undeceive the World in the Heroick Character he hath given of him, by noting some of his Failings, which bring him down to the mediocrity of other Men. Had he been a more private Person, or acted in a more private Sphere, I should not have called his Canonization of him into question, nor taken the *Glory* from the Picture which he drew of him in his Sermon, and sent in numerous Copies about the World. But being a Person of great and dangerous Example, both to present Times and Posterity, and having acted such a Part as he hath had the Misfortune to do, both in Church and State; I thought I should do the Christian World good Service in observing some of his Errours, Weaknesses, and Misdoings; lest Men now, or hereafter, taking of him indeed for a Man of *unblemished* and *heroick* Piety, should think him imitable in every Thing, and follow his dangerous Example where he did ill, as well as where he did well.

One thing I have taken notice of, was the unfortunate Part he had in slandering and wronging the *Two Kings*; and since I have
con-

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concluded my Book, I have heard, that after the Revolution, he did again revive the Report of the *Legitimacy* of the Duke of *Monmouth*; which being false, whatever Opinion he had of it, is one of the greatest Slanders to the Memory of one of the Royal Brothers, and Injuries to the other, that a Man could be guilty of. It is well known among the Clergy, that one of his most intimate Acquaintance was very zealous, after the Revolution, in going about to Bishops, and other Church-men, to try if he could make them believe this old Story to be true; and thence to persuade them to take the Oath of Allegiance to King *W.* because King *J.* never had any Right to the Crown. I know the idle *Hear-says* he told them, to create belief in them of this *Stale Fiction*, and am able to disprove them all; and I would here tell them, and disprove them, but that the great Honour and Respect I have for that Duke's illustrious Family, will not let me say some Things in Confutation of them, which I think would be unacceptable to them to hear. But if that *second Self* of Dr. *Tillotson* will publish his *Hear-say Stories*, which I always suspected he had from him, I will undertake to shew the falleness of them, provided he will do it quickly, while my Witnesses are alive.

Another Thing in which Dr. *Tillotson* fell short of his own Doctrine, and was wont to act contrary to it, was in *noting*, like many of his Brethren, the small Number of the non-complying Clergy upon all Occasions, and despising of them and their Cause, for that they were so few. I thought to have observed this in its proper Place in my *second Chapter*; but having forgot it, I will here shew in his own Words, what a vain and unmanly Thing it is to argue for or against any Church, or Cause, from Number; and I am the more willing to set them down, That neither his Funeral Orator, nor any other of his side hereafter, may boast of their Numbers, or despise any *Suffering Cause*, especially because it is embraced but by a Few.

"* But we will not stand upon this Advantage with them. Suppose we were
"by much the Fewer: So hath the
"Church of God often been, without
"any the least Prejudice to the Truth of
"that Religion. What think we of the

"Church in *Abraham's* Time, which for ought we know was confined to one Family, and one small Kingdom, that of *Melchisedeck* King of *Salem*? What think we of it in *Adams's* Time, when

* *The Protestant Religion vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty, in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, Ap. 2. 1680.*

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“ it was confined to one People wandering in a Wilderness? What
“ of it in *Elijah's* Time, when besides the Two Tribes that worshipped
“ at *Jerusalem*, there were in the other Ten but Seven thousand
“ that had not bowed the Knee to *Baal*? What in our Saviour's
“ Time, when the whole Christian Church consisted of Twelve
“ Apostles, and Seventy Disciples, and some few Followers be-
“ side? How would *Bellarmin* have despised this little Flock, be-
“ cause it wanted one or two of his goodliest Marks of the true
“ Church, Universality and Splendor? And what think we of the
“ Christian Church in the Height of *Arianism*, and *Pelagianism*,
“ when a great part of Christendom was over-run with these Er-
“ rours, and the Number of the Orthodox was inconsiderable in
“ comparison of Hereticks? But what need I urge these Instances?
“ As if the truth of Religion were to be estimated and carried by
“ the *major Vote*; which as it can be an Argument to none but
“ Fools, so I dare say *no honest and wise Man* ever made use of it for
“ the solid Proof of the Truth and Goodness of any Church or Re-
“ ligion. If Multitude be an Argument that Men are in the Right,
“ in vain then hath the Scripture said, *Thou shalt not follow a Multi-*
“ *tude to do Evil*; for if this Argument be of any force, the greater
“ Number never go wrong.

I have cited this, as I have done all other Passages, faithfully
out of the Works of these two Authors, in the following Discour-
ses; and whether the Reflections and Applications I have made
upon them be just and right, and the Consequences I have drawn
from them upon themselves be true, must be left to the Reader to
judge betwixt me and them.

THE INTRODUCTION

AS nothing of late hath more Entertain'd the World than *Funeral Sermons*: So none of them hath had a more General Reception among Men of *all Sorts*, than that preach't at the Funeral of the late Dean of *Canterbury*, whom the Preacher styles, *By Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England*. It was sent abroad with its *Fiocco* by the *R. R. Father in God Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum*; and Men were curious to see what he would say upon an Occasion so inviting to a Fruitful Invention, while his *Censors* of the House were a Sitting.

I hapned to make a Visit to a Place, where I found one Gentleman reading of it to three more, who were very attentive to it; I came in almost at the Beginning, and having only beg'd the Favour of the Text, made no other Interruption. But though I said nothing upon hearing the Words, I marvelled at his Choice of them, That he should pitch upon a Place so emphatical for Suffering at the Funeral of a Man who never Suffered, nor loved Sufferings; but who, on the contrary, was of a Temper and Constitution that loved *Ease* and *Indolency*; of which the Apostle enjoy'd little or nothing in the whole Course of his Apostleship: But as he taught so was he always practising the Evangelical Doctrine of Sufferings, of which he hath left us several short Accounts in his *Epistles*, and sum'd them all up, *In fighting the good fight of Faith, a little before*

before his final Martyrdom; when he was ready to be offered, and the time of his *Passion* was at hand.

At the End of this private Lecture, the Gentleman who read, first began to Censure. Saith he, The little Knowledge I had of Dr. *Tillotson* makes it not proper for me to judge, whether or no he deserv'd so great a Character as this *Panegyrist* hath given him; but if he did, it was very unfortunate for his Memory that he should have Bishop *Burnet* for his Funeral Orator: A Man, that *how much soever he may think himself* possessed of the Esteem of the World, is very much lost in it both at Home and Abroad; and upon whose Authority very few Men will believe Things that are *true* to be so, without other very good proof. Saith *another*, I am well acquainted with the Writings of Dr. *Tillotson*, and am not a perfect Stranger to his Conversation, and I am sure the Character this Bishop has given him is much above his Merit: *Fy, Fy*, That Men of this Order should so flatter in the Pulpit, where Flattering is so

(a) *Serm.* abominable. He was not (a) *an Example of Heroick Piety and p. 228.* *Virtue, his Life was not free from Blemishes*, and some great ones too, and this the *Panegyrist* knows very well. A *third* then began to argue against some particular Passages in his

(b) *P. 22.* Sermon, particularly against the Truth of what he (b) saith of some of our Suffering Bishops, and the Authority that displaced them, which I shall hereafter recite: And then *the fourth*, after a little Silence said, with a Critical Authority, That his Sermon was a Boyish Piece of Rhetorick, more becoming a Declaimer than a Preacher, and fitter for a Sophister's Desk than a Bishops Pulpit, having too much the Air of a young Student's Declaration, and also seem'd in some parts of it to have too much of

Common Place in it, and in others too much Art to be (c) *P. 10.* true. Nay, saith he, his own (c) Reflexions on *Varillas* 11. 60. are here true upon himself. His Sermon hath too much *the Air of a Romance*; 'tis too Fine to be true: *He seems to write his own Inventions, and sets abundance of Whipt Cream before his Reader.* And then he told us a Story of a blind Gentleman, but a good natural Critick, whose Custom was to repair very early to St. Martin's Church, and to ask who preach'd? Saith he, he hapned once to ask me the Question, and when I told him Dr. *Burnet* was to preach, then in truth, saith he, we shall have a *Whipt Silibub*: And I think, said he Smiling, Dr. *Burnet's* whipt Silibub is as far from the Nature of strong and manly Meat, as Monsieur *Varillas's* whipt

whipt Cream. A Preacher, especially at Funerals; ought to avoid Strains; and when he speaks of the Defunct, to speak more like an Historian than an Orator: But this Man's Eloquence, to use his own Words of (a) *Lactantius*, carries him often into (a) *Pres. Strains that become a young Orator better than an Historian, to Lactantius for he hath a heat of Style that ought not to be imitated by one that would write truth*; but it may be, saith he, Smiling again in his Words of *Lactantius*, He design'd his Sermon for a mixt sort of Writing between a Declamation and a Funeral Sermon, and so may think that the Figures which agree not to the one may be allow'd in the other. (b) **WHILE NATURE FEELS SO GREAT (b) P. 1. A LOSS, AND SINKS UNDER IT.** This, and some more, are the Figures of a young Declamer, and the Super sublime of our Lawn-sleeve Orator, who should not have been transported with the Heats of a virious Rhetorick: Send him to School to *Longinus* and *Rapine*, to learn the Rules of true and manly Eloquence: They will both tell him, That what is not Just is not true Eloquence; and that a Style not fit for the Occasion, or the Subject in hand, always argues defect of Judgment; and that no Speech, or Treatise, which sticks not with the Hearers after it is read, though it tickle never so much in Reading, can be a Piece of true Eloquence. And speak Gentlemen, saith he, you have all heard this Panegyrick; very many fine Things and Generals are said in it, but after all, I can scarce tell for what he commends his Metropolitan: All his pompous Figures have rais'd in me no great Idea of the Man; for after all my Attention, I find very little Sticks behind; nor do I think this Performance will do his Memory much Service, or transmit it with Advantage to Posterity.

C H A P. I.

THis is the Short of what pass'd in this little Court of Censure upon this Bishop's Funeral Sermon; and I shall proceed to discourse upon it in the same Order, and begin with that which he will think the severest Part of it, which is to shew, That though what he said of the late Dean of *Canterbury* were true, yet no Man ought, as I believe few will, believe it upon his

This Authority; because he hath so contradicted himself, and the most serious Parts of his own Writings; and is so apt to write his own Fancies and Inventions for truth, and to write with Bias and Partiality to serve a Turn; to prevaricate and play Tricks with his own and other Mens Work; to let himself be transported with Passion, which hinders him from writing in cool Blood; and is not a whit also behind *Varillas* in that bold Quality, (a) *Reflexions on* (a) which he tells him he loves not to set down by its *Varillas*, p. 15. proper Name.

To prove this Charge, which I have drawn up against him, I must now and then mention Things which are not commonly known of him, beginning with that *Circular Letter* which he sent to all the Bishops of *Scotland* above 20 Years ago. In this Letter he boldly reflected upon them, and the Clergy, for frequenting the Court, and great Mens Houses; for keeping of Coaches, though the Primate was the only Person that kept a Coach among them, and for converting the Money of their Ecclesiastical Revenues to their own proper Uses. The several Copies of this Letter were all, or most of them, written in his own hand writing; that which I saw was left in *England* by the worthy Primate of his Name, when he was Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and among others it was read by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Fowler*, and Dr. *Hascard* who pretended to lose it; and I appeal to them not only for the Truth of these few Reflexions, which I remember in it at this distance, but for the Impudence of the whole Letter, which I heard one of them say he could not have believed, unless he had seen. Not long after the Writing of this Letter he came to *London*, where the Reflexions above-mentioned, and others, were the common Topicks of his Discourses upon the Clergy. Dr. *Outram* once told me that he entertain'd him, as I remember, at the first Visit which he gave him, upon the subject of Clergy-mens haunting of Courts, and Noble-mens Houses, but the next day the good Doctor happening to take the Air in St. *James's Park* saw his young Reformer in the *Mall* walking and stalking with Two or Three *Foreign Ministers*; and this, with some other Observations which he and some others made of his Plying at Court, particularly at St. *James's*, and being seen, above all Divines about the Town, in Noble-mens Houses, and in their Coaches, made him lose his respect for him, and preface Things of him in some ominous Expressions, which have since come to pass. The World knows very well how contrary the whole

whole Course of his Life hath been, and still is, to these Self denying Pretensions, and particularly as to the Levying and Taking Fines for Church Lands, and Converting them to his own, and not to the Churches use, which he condemns in his

(a) *History of the Rights of Princes.* It must needs lessen (a) P. 80. the Credit of any Writer thus to be at Variance with himself, and to practise contrary to what he would impose upon others. One cannot but suspect such a Man for a *Pharisee*, who is for tying Burthens upon other Men, which he will not bear himself; and so much Enthusiasm, and Hypocrisy, as must go to make a Clergy man discern Motes in his Brethrens Eyes, and not see the Beam in his own, will easily incline him to write for a Party, to side with Interest against Truth, to set up *Heroes and Heroick Examples* for his own Cause, and to flatter their Memories as indecently as the *French Clergy*, in his Opinion, did the *French*

King; who he (b) tells us, *Considered more what were* (b) *Pref, to the Highest Things that could be said of him, than what the History of was either true in it self, or suitable to the Gravity and Sincerity of their Profession.* It must needs astonish a Man *Princes, p. 96.* to read so many Passages in this Book, I mean his *Hi-*

story of the Rights of Princes, which have now a very scurvy Aspect upon him; and shew how disagreeable the Practices of the Bishop are to the Precepts and Censures of the Doctor; and how the one do thwart and contradict the other. But because the large Field of Matter I have in view against him will not let me insist upon them, I desire my Reader at his leisure to cast his

Eyes upon the (c) Pages cited in the Margent, and (c) P. 7. 11. 14. thereupon to make a little Reflexion, and then I am 30 32. 34. 48. confident he will be apt to think, That as little Credit 73. 80. 88. 97. is due to him, as he (d) saith is to the Greek Writers, who 117. 118. when they like a Bishop praise him so unreasonably, and 138. 161. reproach others so incredibly, that it is hard to tell what we 203. 226. ought to believe. But, God be thanked, that is not 293. 320.

our Case yet; for let him, or others like him, praise (d) P. 8. of the some or reproach others of our Bishops as they *History of the* please, we know both them, and what to believe, *Rights of Prin-* and will take care to transmit Truth unto Po- ces. sterity.

From that I fear now invisible Manuscript, and the History of the *Rights of Princes*, let us proceed to his modest and free Conference be-

tween a Conformist and a Nonconformist; Printed at Glasgow in Several Dialogues, 1669. In the Seventh Dialogue he tells the *Noncon*, That the first Precedent in History for Subjects fighting upon the Account of Religion was Pope Gregory the Seventh, who armed the Subjects of *Germany* against the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth; and that the latest is the Holy League of *France*, from which our whole Matter (saith he) seems transcribed; and then asks *Noncon*, If he was not ashamed in a Matter of such importance to symbolize with the worst Gang of the *Roman Church*; for, saith he, the better Sort condemn it. And I think we have much more Reason, after the Writing of this, to ask him the same Question; and if he had any Conscience or Shame, one would think he should be ashamed to symbolize with them, and to see himself, and the greater part of the Church of *England* (if they can now be said to be of the Church of *England*) follow the Example of the worst part of the Church of *Rome*. Methinks he should blush now at this just Re-

(a) Pref. to flexion, if Something, as bad as he thinks the Order, (a) did the History of not set him above the Modesty of Blushing, and make that the Rights of of Pasquin as true of himself, as he says it is of the Arch-Princes p. 39. bishop of Paris, (b) *Pudebit, sed non Erubescet*. But if (b) *Ibid* p. 41. he will not be ashamed, I know no reason why any

Man, that would not be deceived, should take Things upon Trust from such a shameless Writer, whom an impenitent Conscience hath hardened against the Confusion of Remorse and Blushing; and made one of the greatest Examples of Impudence that ever dishonoured the Lawn-Sleeves. I hope it is a just Indignation that forces this Reflexion from me; but if it seems too severe, I beg the Reader's Patience till I lay before him another of this unhappy Man's Books, intituled, *A Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland*, Printed 1673. This Book is full of very many Doctrins, Rules and Precepts, to which the Author's Life, and all his Books since the beginning of the Revolution, have been an open Contradiction. In the Entrance of his Preface to the Reader, saith he, *How sad, but how full a Commentary doth the Age we live in give of those Words of our Lord*; I am come to send Fire on Earth, Suppose you that I am come to give Peace upon Earth, I tell you nay, but rather Division. Do we not see the Father divided against the Son, and the Son against the Father; and engaging into such angry Heats, and mortal Feuds, upon Colours of Religion, as if the Seed of the Word of God, like Cadmus Teeth, had spawned a Generation of

of Cruel and Blood thirsty Man: But how surprizing is the Wonder when Religion becomes the Pretence. And after this; Among all the Heresies, this Age hath spawned, there is not one more contrary to the whole Design of Religion, and more destructive of Mankind, than is that bloody Opinion of defending Religion by Arms, and of forceable Resistance upon the Colour of preserving Religion. The Wisdom of this Policy is Earthly, Sensual, and Devilish; savouring of a carnal, unmortified, and impatient Mind, that cannot bear the Cross, nor trust to the Providence of God. Religion then as well as since was the Civil Property of these Kingdoms, but at the time of the Revolution (a) he distinguished the Christian Religion from it self as Religion, (a) In his Enquiry into the and as it was one of the principal Rights and Properties of the Subject; and though as Religion it ought not to be defended by Arms, yet he affirmed, That as a Civil Measure of Submission to the Supreme Right and Property it might. Would any Man but Authority. such a Bishop have had the Confidence to say, That it was Lawful to fight for Religion, as a Civil Right and Property, who had published the Book above-mentioned, and I know not how many after it, to prove it Unlawful for Subjects to take up Arms in defence, or under pretence of defending any Right or Property whatsoever? Let such a Man say of Things or Persons, or of Persons Dead or Living, what he pleases; he shall never be believed by me, farther than he brings Proof.

The Passages of his forecited Book, which now stare him in the Face, are very many, and very Emphatical; and there is scarce a Page in it which is not a Record against him: I must take notice of some, and recommend (b) those in the (b) P. 8. to Margent to the curious Reader's perusal at his leisure, p. 18, p. 35, 39. that he may make the same use of them that I am going to do of those that follow. 40. 41. 42. 46. In the 68th Page of 47. that Book, he makes it of more dangerous Consequence to place the Deposing Power in the People, than in the Pope. Less Disorder, saith he, may be apprehended from the Pretensions of the Roman Bishops, than from those Maxims that put the Power of Judging and Controuling the Magistrate in the Peoples hands, which opens a Door to endless Confusion, and sets every private Person in the Throne. These Consequences of placing the Deposing Power in the People, we have seen verified by Experience, and still shall be more convinced of the Truth of them; but yet his Enquiry into the Measures of Submission and Obedience, which he owns among his 18 Papers, and the Enquiry.

Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, which is his, though he does not own it, were both written upon the Principles of the Resisting and Deposing Power. For in the one, he Exhorts the People to resist the King, as having fallen from his Authority; and in the other, to take upon them the Power and Authority of Deposing of him; And to encourage them the more to it, he doth affirm, That the Power of the People of Judging the King in Parliament is a part of the Law of *England*; and goes about to prove it from the Sentence of Deposition against King *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*; which, contrary to the Truth of History, and I am confident of his own Knowledge, he saith, were never annulled by any subsequent Parliaments, and therefore remain part of our Law. Such an impudent Assertion, contrary to so many Acts of Parliament printed in the Statute Books, and

(a) *In Pryn's Jurisdiction of the Lords.*

(b) *J'avoue qu'en faisant ces remarques, je suis dans une véritable contrainte de ne pas appeller M. Eurnet de tous les Noms qu'il mérite. Lettre de M. Burnet a M. Thavensot avec les remarques de MLG. p. 33.*

(a) elsewhere, would, as Monsieur *le Grand* saith of him upon another Occasion, (b) *Provoke a Man to call him by all the Names that he deserves.* But I pass on to the second Thing I intended to note in that Book, and it is his own Answer to the Arguments for Resistance, which, in the first Conference, he puts in the Mouth of *Iosimus*, the Presbyterian, to justify taking up Arms against our Lawful Governors; from the Example of the *Maccabees* rising up in Arms against *Antiochus*; and of the Christians, who under *Constantine the Great* made no difficulty of fighting against the other Emperour his Colleague

Licinius. These Arguments he there pursues as far as they will go in the Mouth of *Iosimus*, and then Answers them fully in the Person of *Basilius* the Royalist, by whom he represents himself; yet he lately made use of the very same Arguments to persuade his Clergy of the Lawfulness of taking up Arms against the King, to bring about the Revolution, and of the Obligations they were under to submit to it, and support it, without either retracting the Answer which he had made to those Arguments (and which he might suppose some of them had read) or replying to them, or so much as mentioning of them; but tells them in his Preface to his four Discourses, That they had heard him urge them with seeming Satisfaction, which I suppose was one sort of Satisfaction, and Admiration too in many of them, which I had rather hint than Name.

The

The third great Instance of that Book, in which he hath contradicted himself is his Arguing for the Duty of Nonresistance from the Example of the *Thebean Legion*, (p. 58.) which I cannot forbear to repeat in his own Words. Saith he, *There is no Piece of Story which I read with such Pleasure as the Accounts given of the Martyrs; for methinks they leave a Fervour upon my Mind, which I meet with in no Study, that of the Scriptures Excepted. Say not then, They were not able to have stood to their Defence, when it appears how great their Numbers were, or shall I here tell you the known Story of the Thebean Legion which Consisted of 6666. &c. In the Year 1673, the Stories of the Primitive Martyrs, and this in particular, left a Fervour upon his Mind, which he never felt in his usual Studies; but in 1687, the Year before the Revolution, he stages it for a copious and incredible Legend in his Preface before Lactantius, without so much as telling the World, that he had been in that common Errour of the Learned, and thought the Fable true.*

The Arguments with which he Assaults it are all Negative, and such as one would think he could not believe himself. First, he argues against it from the Silence of *Eusebius*, though (a) *Eusebius* in his History of the *Dioclesian Persecution* (a) *Hist. Eccl.* professes to omit many of the Conflicts of those who l. 8. c. 13. suffered in divers Parts of the Empire, leaving them to be described by those that were Eye witnesses to them. Secondly, from the Silence of *Sulpitius Severus*, who mentions not one single Fact of that Persecution; saying no more of it, than that it continued X Years, in which time the whole World was Dyed with the Blood of the Martyrs: The Christians then striving for Martyrdom, which, he saith, *was more sought for among them than Bishopricks by the ambitious Clergy of his time; from whence it came to pass, That the World was never so much wasted by any War that stands upon Record in History, as by that Persecution successively for X Years, in which the Christians had so many Triumphs. (The Famous Martyrdoms of that time are yet extant, which I shall not set down here, because I would keep within the small Compass of this little Work.)* This is the short Account of that Persecution in *Sulpitius*; and if the Christians of the Empire then strove for Martyrdom upon the stupid Principle of Non-resistance, why might not a Christian Legion, under the Conduct of a Non-resisting Leader, grow as stupid as other Christians? And if all the World (which is the Phrase for all the Empire) was Dyed with Christian Blood, why might not *Aganum* have as

deep a Tincture, as any other Place? But *Aganum* was in *Gaul*, and *Lactantius*, says he, excepts the *Gauls* from Persecution: But the *Thebean Legion* were Strangers, and not *Gauls*; and though *Constantius* might protect the *Gauls*, he had no Right to protect them; or if he had, he could not prevent what happen'd to them; their Execution being not a State of Persecution, but a Casual unforeseen *Days-work* of Military Discipline on the Edge of *Gaul*, where *Constantius* was not present to countermand or oppose it. But if he had been present, he could have had no Authority to have hinder'd it, because it was done by the Command of *Maximian*, who was *Augustus*; and as *Augustus* had Authority over *Constantius*, who was then but *Cesar*, and so by the *Dioclesian* Constitution of the Empire was subject to his Authority. But he, saith *Lactantius*, must needs have heard of so remarkable a Transaction as the Passion of this Legion, if it were true. Here is the Negative Argument again; but I say it might be true, and he yet not hear of it: For it was but a few hours work of military Discipline in an obscure Corner of the *Alps*, and *Lactantius* was at that time in *Africk*, where, to use

his own Argument upon another Occasion,

(a) *A Relation of a Conference had about Religion by Edward Stillingfleet, and Gilbert Burnet,*
p. 119.

(a) there was neither Printing, nor Stages for Pacquets, nor Publishing of Mercuries, Gazettes, and Journals; and Men were not wont to amuse themselves at what was doing in the World.

I could tell him of a Mornings Work, in the High-lands of his own Country, not much unlike this in Cruelty, and done about Three years ago, which half of this Nation, and of the Clergy themselves, have not yet heard of; and of those that have, if they were to write an History of the Revolution, few of them would mention it; not excepting our Funeral Orator, who I have Reason to think would be content to pass it over in Silence, though I do believe Tradition from Father to Son will preserve an Account of it in the Valley of *Glencow*, as it did that of the *Thebean Legion* till the time of *Eucherius*, who was the first that committed it to Writing. But in one Word, the Silence of *Lactantius* is no Argument against the Truth of it, who in his History passed over whole Persecutions, which, one would think, he must needs have heard of; and who in the Reign of *Dioclesian* describing only the *Decemial Persecution*, which began at *Nicomedia*, could not by the terms of his Account mention the Massacre of the *Thebean Legion*, which was done so many Years

Years before. No Man would reasonably expect an Account of the fatal and bloody Fight at *Edge Hill*, from an Historian that commences his History from the Trial of *Charles* the First, or the Restauration of his Son; and therefore if our Panegyrist hath no better Arguments against the truth of that Story of the *Thebean* Legion, he may read it still with his old wonted Fervour; or if he thinks it worth his pains, he may proceed to find out new Arguments against it, which such learned Men as *Grotius* and *Usher* have not yet found out; but though I have a great Deference for their Authority, and that Story upon the Account of it, yet I am unconcern'd whether it be Truth or a Fiction, and will only put him in Mind that the very Fiction of it proves that the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, however now exploded by him, was the general Belief and Practice of the Antient Christians, and a Badg of their Profession in Times of Persecution, as much as Baptism it self, or any Article in their Creed. They call'd it the Doctrine of the Cross, and he once pretended to be all Primitive, and all Christian for it: It used to create a Fervour in his Blood, but now he is turned Apostate from it, and from the Church of *England*, although he pretends to be a Bishop of it according to his own Words,

(a) *This Doctrine we justly Glory in; and if any, who have. (a) Sermon on bad their Baptism and Education in our Church, have turn'd the 30 of Jan. RENEGADOS from it, They prov'd no less Enemies to the navy 1672. Church herself, than to the Civil Authority; So that their p. 36.*

APOSTACY leaves no Blame upon our Church. No indeed! His Apostacy leaves no Blame on it; but however it is such a Blot upon himself, that if I were one of those, as I profess I am not, who thought *Dr. Tillotson* deserved the Praises he has given him, I should be sorry that an Apostate, and an Apostate by his own Confession, should be his Encomiast, and transmit his Memory to Posterity. For Divines that contradict themselves, and their most serious Doctrines, which they pressed upon the Consciences of Men, as he hath done, are always to be Suspected; and as for himself, he, above all others, hath brought upon himself the Fate of *Cassandra*, and is not to be believ'd when he speaks Truth upon his own Authority: And if what I have hitherto said will not justify the Severity of this Censure, I hope what I am going to write will.

In his first Letter to my Lord *Middleton*, bearing Date the 27th of *May*, 1687. he tells his Lordship, That few have preach't more than himself.

himself against all Sorts of Treasonable Doctrines and Practices, and particularly against the Lawfulness of rising in Arms upon account of Religion.— I have preacht a whole Sermon at the *Hague*; faith he, against all Treasonable Doctrines and Practices, and in particular against the Lawfulness of Subjects rising in Arms against their Sovereigns upon the account of Religion; and I have maintained this both in Publick and Private; so that I could, if I thought it convenient, give Proofs of it, that would make all my Enemies ashamed.— As often as I have talked with Sir *John Cochran*— I took occasion to repeat my Opinion of the Duty of Subjects to submit and *bear all the ill Administration that might be in the Government*, but never to rise in Arms upon that Account. And in his third Letter to his Lordship, bearing Date *Hague 27. June, 1687.* he concludes with these Words; *But to the last Moment of my Life I will pay all Duty and Fidelity to his Majesty.* And yet before the Date of these Letters, wherein he makes such high and solemn Professions of his Principles of Loyalty, and of his Duty to the King, he was engaged in one of the Deepest and most Heinous Treasons that Subject was ever engaged in against his Sovereign; I mean, in persuading the *Princess of Orange* to Consent to the unnatural Invasion of her Father's Kingdom by the Prince, which then was resolv'd upon, and with him to take his Crown, if the Invasion should succeed. This he thought so meritorious and honourable a Piece of Service; that soon after he came to *London*, he could not deny himself the Satisfaction of telling some Friends, That he was the Man pitcht upon to break the Design of deposing the King her Father to her Royal Highness Two Years before the Revolution; and that he gained her Consent, upon Condition that the Prince might assume the Royal Power with her, and be Crowned before her.

He told it to this purpose in the Deanry house of *St. Pauls*, and for the Truth of it I appeal to the then Dean of that Church *Dr. Stillingfleet*, and to the worthy Bishop of *Peterborough*, I mean *Dr. White*, who was present when he spoke to that Effect; and I make bold to mention his good Name, because he hath spoken of it in many Places; and to this Authority I could add that of a Right honourable Person of great Esteem, in whose Hearing he spake in another Place to the same purpose. Let this be written upon his Monument, and embalm his Memory to Posterity, That he was the Man who persuaded the yet innocent Daughter, *Abigail* like, to conspire

conspire the Destruction of her Father; and to seize his Throne.

This he did against a King, who, according to his own Expression of the King his Father, was, by a (a) *Traité* of (a) *Serm. on undisputed Succession, what Saul was by immediate Revelation, God's Anointed*: And after he had done it, he again promised Fidelity to him to the last Moment of his Life; and after that again invaded his Kingdom, and u'ed him the worst of all his Enemies. I have been told that he was a Year in overcoming that unhappy Princess into this unnatural Resolution; and if any one desire to know what Arguments, and of what Sort he used to pervert her, I am of Opinion he may find them in a *French Book*, called, *Le Salut de la France*; which was written by *Monsieur Jurieu*, a *French Minister*, to persuade the Dauphin of *France*, to whom it is addressed, to dethrone his Father. They were both great Acquaintance one with the other, both lived together in *Holland*, both great Enthusiasts, both acted with the utmost Revenge against their respective Sovereigns, both engaged in the Interests of the Confederacy, and it would be very strange if two such Wits and Incendiaries, so agreeing in their Temper, Design, and their way of Writing, should not jump in their Arguments on this Subject. At the same time he was at work with the Princess he wrote many Seditious Libels to disaffect the People of these Kingdoms against the King; contrary not only to his professed Fidelity, but to the Respect he had before pretended was due to Crown'd Heads. In his (b) *Re-* (b) P. 6. flections on *Varillas* he pretends, That the sublime Character of a Crowned Head laid a restraint on those Groans, which he would otherwise vent in behalf of the *French Refugees*. And in his Letter to *Monsieur Thavenot*, he is very severe upon *M. le Grand* for speaking hardly of our *Henry VIII.* telling him, That there is a Reverence due to the Ashes of Kings, which ought to make us speak of their Faults in the softest Words, and avoid such reproachful ones, as *Lying* and *Imposition*. To which *M. le Grand* cries out in his Note upon that Passage, *Behold this Man who fills England and France with the most Seditious and Outragious Libels, that were ever made against any Prince, speaking at this rate.* And I say, behold this Man, with all his Fidelity to his own King, and all the Respect he had professed to Crown'd Heads, treating his own Sovereign as if he had not been anointed with Oyl. At *Exeter* he would not let them say the Morning and Evening Prayer for the King's Majesty; at *Salisbury* he sat down when it was said; and at another Place in

their March, when a Noble Lord, out of Respect to his Master's Crown'd and Hoary Head, asked him this Question with disdain, *What then must we do with the King?* He presently answered, *He must be deposed, He must be deposed.* At St. James's he took upon him to requite Mr. West, whom I ought to mention with Honour, to

leave off praying for him, and the Prince of Wales; (a) See *Tempora*. (a) for whom though he had often prayed by Name in the Chapel Royal at the Hague, yet in his Measures of Submission and Obedience he calls him

a base Imposture; for which if Men do not, God, in his appointed time, will call him unto Judgment. In his

(b) P. 167. (b) *History of the Rights of Princes*, he calls the War which the Children of King Lewis began against their Father, and afterwards continued against one another, an unnatural War; and yet he hath since been a Firebrand to kindle a War in his own Country, so much the more unnatural, as it is upon the Score of Religion; of which he saith, in

(c) P. 194. (c) his *Reflections on Varillas*, That it were better for Mankind that there were no revealed Religion at all, and that human Nature should be left to its self, than that there were such a Sort of revealed Religion received, that overthrows all the Principles of Morality. I suppose he did not argue at this rate to the Princess of

Orange, when he perswaded her to consent to the unnatural Invasion of her Father's Kingdom, upon the Account of Religion. No, this is the true Character of Religion which he

(d) *Reflections*, gives in opposition to that of (d) M. Varillas, who, as he tells us, saith, That in Matters of Religion, Con-

science doth so entirely conquer all the Powers of the Soul, and reduces them to such a Slavery, that it forces a Man to write that which it dictates, without troubling himself whether it be true or false.

And it is evident from what I have said, That he hath had many such Fits of Religion; and that he was in a great and long Fit of it all the while he supplied Satan's Place, and did the Office of a Tempter to the Princess of Orange, till he overcame her into a Consent to dishonour her Father more than Cham did his, and after all to take Possession of his Crown. Without such Religious Fits of writing Things, whether true or false, he could never arrive to such Perfection of writing Contradictions to serve turns. In his Sermon before the Prince of O. at St. James's, he tells us his Royal Highness came abhorring Conquest. In his Pastoral Letter he advances his imaginary Conquest of us into an Argument for Alliance

justice to him ; and afterwards in his (a) Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Boyle, *The true Names for Conquest were Robbery, and Murder, and it was nothing but a specious Colour for the worst Things that human Nature is capable of, Injustice and Cruelty.* Thus is he troubled with the same Fits with which he so often reproaches *Varillas* ; and, I fear, I shall make it appear he was in one of them, when he wrote his Funeral Sermon upon Dr. Tillotson, though I heartily wish he had been free.

But to go on, to shew how Unfortunate he hath been in weakening his own Authority ; in the first Volume of his *History of the Reformation*, he (b) speaks of Hen. IV. as (b) P. 108. *When of a Traytor, and Usurper, and yet, as I observed Hen. IV. had before, contrary to all the Acts of Parliament which treasonably U- declare him, and his Son, and Grandson Usurpers ; surpt the Crown.* and which it is a Disparagement to his Character, as an Historian to suppose him ignorant of, in his *Enquiry into the present State of Affairs*, he asserts, That the Deposition of Ric. II. was never condemned by any subsequent Acts of Parliament. Surely when he wrote this, his Conscience was in a great Fit, neither considering what he had written before, nor whether he wrote true or false.

The next Place in which I must set him to be viewed in opposition to himself, is his Preface to *Lactantius* ; where I must compare what he hath written of *Persecution, Persecutors, and the Persecuted*, with what he hath done against the present Sufferers, against whom he hath been a very *Bonner* to the utmost of his Power, and thrust after their Destruction. Shortly after the Revolution, asking an honourable Gentleman, if he would not come into the Government ? And he answering, He could not ; then, saith he, we will drive you out of the Kingdom, or you shall drive us. On Sept. 4. 1690. he told (c) Dr. Beach ; (c) See Paper whom I mention with that great Esteem which is due to his Piety and Learning, that he hoped by the next *Christmas* not to see one deprived Clergy-man left in the Kingdom ; saying, that they were worse than Papists, and that he would shew more Mercy to a Popish Priest than to any one of them. And when the Doctor replied, I hope we shall find Justice, if not Mercy : He answered, I will shew you neither ; I will prosecute you to the utmost Extremity. And I believe the Doctor hath found that he was as good as his Word. This Righteous and Gentle Temper of his, in obstructing Justice, as well as Mercy,

Mercy, from the suffering Remnant, appeared the last Year in the House of Lords; where he spoke not against the Cause, but the Person of an honourable and most worthy Gentleman, against whom, because he had been Kind and Hospitable to his Fellow-Sufferers, he harangued it in a manner altogether unbecoming his Character, both as a Bishop, and a Judge. Had he argued against the Justice or Equity of his Cause, he had spoken as became his Place; but having nothing to say against *that*, he spoke against *him*, as a Person disaffected to the Government, who made his House a common Harbour to the Enemies of it. This might have looked proper had the Gentleman sued to the House for a Favour; but being a Suiter for Justice, and before the last Resort, he spoke not like a Judge but an Enemy, and a Persecutor, who regards Men more than Causes; and indeed like one who hath neither Bowels of Mercy, nor Conscience of Justice, for those unfortunate Persons, whose greatest Fault is (to use

(a) *Preface to his (a)own Words*) *That they cannot think of some Things Lactantius. as he doth, nor submit their Reasons to his.* In like manner

he inveighed bitterly against a most pious and learned Gentleman to his Father, for keeping Company with, and entertaining some of the Non-swearing Clergy, whom in his Preface to his four Discourses he calls *false Brethren*, who pretend to be of the Church of England, but are not, and are of the *Synagogue of Satan*. This evil Spirit of Persecution shewed it self in a Zeal for an *Oath of Abjuration*, when speaking like himself in the House, he said to this Effect; *Let him die the Death of a Dog, and be buried with the Burial of an Ass, that wishes or hopes for the return of K James.* It hath also shewed its cloven Foot in his *Funeral Sermon*; and it would be endless to recite the intemperate Speeches which, upon the least Occasion, he is apt to vent against a Company of Suffering Men; who, to use the Words of his own

(b) *Ibid.* *Plea for the Persecuted, (b) have no other Fault, but that they cannot shake off the Principles of their Education, which, saith he, stick so fast to the worst sort of Men, that Atheists themselves cannot shake them off so entirely, but that they will be apt to return upon them.*

Thus he that pretended to be so far from Persecuting Men of any Perswasion, that he apologized even for Atheists, is now all Fury and Persecution against those, who, as the late Bishop of St. Asaph frankly observed to Archbishop Sancroft, are the Men that preserve the Nation from Atheism. Nay, he apologizes even for

for Idolaters, and argues in the following manner for Toleration, and Forbearance. (a) *That a Man is scarce the Master of his own Thoughts, and Constitution; that he cannot see Things in another Light, than that to which he hath been accustomed to view them; That he can no more change his Notions of Things, because a set of new Opinions would accommodate him better, than change the Relish of his Senses; and that the forcing a Man to say or do otherwise than he thinks by Threatnings, the Execution whereof is above his Force to endure, is only the delivering up such a Person to the Rack of his own Conscience here, and the Portion of Hypocrites hereafter.* These, and many more Things, he then wrote to serve a Turn in behalf of the Persecuted against Persecution; but now the Scene is shifted he acts a contrary part to what he acted before: Not considering how his former Writings reproach his present Practices, and with what an ill Grace he persecutes now. Of Persecution he saith, (b) *That it* (b) *Ibid.* *arises from an imperious Temper of Mind, and a Spirit impatient of Contradiction; that it hath most effect on base minded Men, and works quite contrary on generous Minds, and awakened Understandings; that it vitiates the Morals of Persecutors; that Persecutors do naturally engage themselves into the Intrigues of Courts; that though they triumph for a while with the Spoils of their Enemies, yet they will soon feel how it sinks their Credit among indifferent Spectators, and good natured Men; and abundance more to this purpose. And yet forgetting all he hath said with such a Copia on this Subject, he hath signaliz'd himself in the Persecution of those he calls Jacobites, though their Books and Apologies lie unanswered; and particularly those Two that were written against his Enquiry into the Measures of Submission &c. and his Phoenix Pastoral Letter, in which, as he saith of Vanillas, His Fallacies and Prevarications are laid open in a manner capable of making any Man blush besides himself; but he hath neither had the Conscience to confess his Errours, nor the Sense of Honour to justify himself.*

The next Thing which stands in contradiction to him, and to his whole Practice in complying with the present Government, but most of all with his persecuting Zeal for it, is a Passage in his Reflexions on *Parliamentum Pacificum* in the following Words: *The Instance which is proposed to the Imitation of the Nation, is that Parliament which called in the late King, and yet that cannot so much as be called a Parliament, unless it be upon a common-wealth Principle; that the Sovereign Power is radically in the People; for it being chosen without the King's Writ was such an ESSENTIAL NULLITY that no subsequent Ratification could take it away.* Methinks this Passage, if he had a Mind

to remember it, should oblige him to treat the *Non-swearers*, if not with Respect, yet with Gentleness: For if it is not a sufficient Justification of them against the Government, yet while it stands unretracted, it is an unanswerable Vindication of them against him, and confutes every Thing he hath written against them; and especially that impudent (a) Passage, in giving Sermon. which he asserts, That *K. W. was raised up to the Throne before the R.* by a Title that let ungrateful Men say what they will, and *Q. p. 19.* hath more both from God and Man in it, than any the World hath seen for many Ages.

I shall now proceed to Things of something a different Nature; but which will shew no less what little Credit is to be given to him, and how unsafe it is to rely upon his Authority. He dedicated his *Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Laws of Scotland* to the Duke of Lauderdale, then High Commissioner of Scotland: In that Dedication he tells the Duke, How worthily he bore that noble Character, with the more lasting and noble Characters of a Princely mind; and praises him for the long uninterrupted Tranquility that Kingdom had enjoyed under his wise and happy Conduct; and saith, That he was a Prince greater in his Mind than Fortune; and that there was something inward to him, which commanded all the Respect that could be paid by all such that had the Honour to know him, as well as he did. He acknowledges also the particular Engagement by which he was obliged to him; and saith, That it was not fit for him to express the Sense he had of them, and of the vast Endowments of his mind, for fear he should seem to flatter him. Then he instances in the profoundness of his Understanding, and well-balanced Judgment; for which he might deservedly pass for a Master in all Learning. And, in the Conclusion, tells him, That from him they expected an happy Settlement, and wished that Success and Blessings might attend his Endeavours.

Not long after the Printing this Book at Glasgow he brought a great part of the Impression to London, where he sold it to Mr. Masses Pitt; and not long after that again, he came to him to desire him with great Earnestness to sell the Copies of it without the Dedication: For by this time the Duke had fallen out with him, and discarded him for some Arts and Qualities he had observed in him, which I need not name. Mr. Pitt gave him very good Reasons why he ought not to do so; and particularly told him, he could not honestly sell an imperfect for a perfect Copy: Upon which he was angry, and threatened him with the Loss of all the Favours he intended to do him in his Trade. This Mr. Pitt can testify, if he is

is Living ; but if he is not, it can be attested by an honourable Person, who heard him solicit Mr. Pitt to this base unworthy Practice. But though Mr. Pitt would not consent to sell the Books without the Dedication, yet he was content to let him have them again ; and then they came abroad without it. And so hard it was till it was privately Reprinted to get one single Copy with it, that I profess I could never get such a one, till a Gentleman presented me with one out of his private Study. And when he dilated his Patron to the House of Commons, Sir A. Forrester, his Grace's Secretary, told me, That after the utmost Diligence he could get but one single Copy with the Dedication, though he would have purchased more at any Rate, to shew the Gentlemen of the honourable House what kind of Man his *Evidencer* was, that would publish such Things in the Commendation of the Duke, after he knew, (a) as he pretended, *he had a Design of* (a) See his *Vind- bringing in an Army out of Scotland for the spoiling and dication in his: subduing of England.* This Discovery of the Dedica- XVIII Papers. tion, and his Suppressing of it, coming to be known, made all the House curious to see it ; and he foreseeing what use would be made of it against him, was willing to decline his Noble Undertaking : But the House, by the Interest of the Duke's Friends, who increased much upon that Discovery, made him testify what, he since saith, *created Horrors* in him ; and how much Reputation he got by it I need not now tell the World. I am sure many of the Duke's greatest Enemies looked upon it as an horrible Lye ; not thinking the Design, or the Discovery of it if he had designed it, consistent with so much Wisdom as he was Master of, above most great Men of his time.

The next Thing of this Nature which I shall relate, concerns his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* ; he had prepared that Book for the Press before the Breach which happen'd betwixt him and the Duke of Lauderdale, and intended to dedicate it also to him ; and accordingly when he had finished his first Original of it he gave the Duke a fair Copy, which he desired his Grace to peruse in order to the Printing thereof. In this Copy several remarkable Things are related for the Honour of the Duke, with very great Characters of him : But before his Grace had leisure to read this Copy, the Difference broke out between them, and then the *Mo- memoirs* were published without them ; as may be seen in the Copy which is still extant (though I fear his *Circular Letter*, and *Case of Barrington*, hereafter mentioned, are not) and one day, I hope, will

will be published ; and then the World will see, and, I believe, say more of him than I desire to say now.

The next Thing concerns a marginal Note against *Resistance*, in the 446 Page of Bishop *Bedel's* Life ; where under a Passage in one of the Bishop's Letters, that seems to favour Resistance, he hath put these Words. *This Passage above is to be considered as a Relation, and not as the Author's Opinion. But yet for fear of taking it by the wrong handle, the Reader is desired to take Notice, That a Subject's resisting his Prince, in any Court whatsoever, is unlawful and impious.* This Note of his being remember'd by some after the Revolution, and coming very much to be talked of, many curious Persons were desirous to see it ; but when they came to the Booksellers to consult the Place (for the Book was never but once Printed) they found it altered thus. *This Passage above is to be considered as a Relation, and not as the Author's Opinion, lest it should mislead the Reader into a dangerous Mistake :* And it is observable at first Sight, That that single Leaf had been Reprinted for the sake of the Alteration, and Pasted into all the Copies where it is found. One may presume that his Bookseller durst not make this Alteration without some order from him ; and those who are so curious as to compute when it began to be sold without it, found it was a little time after the Revolution.

The *Case of Barrenness* above-mentioned was drawn up by him at the time when the talk was that Queen *Catherine* was to be divorced from *Charles* the II. Every Body knows that this was a Project of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and his Party, to put by the Duke of *York* from succeeding to the Crown. And as for this Case which looked that way, I had the Honour, with several others, to have it shewn me by a Right honourable Person, and many more of both Kingdoms have seen it besides. I cannot now give so particular an Account of the State of the Case, as others who have seen it perhaps may : But thus much in the general I remember, That after urging the Inconveniences that Barrenness brings upon Families, and Successions, he determines in the affirmative, That it is a just Cause of Divorce. At the least this is very dangerous and loose Casuistry, and contrary to the Determinations of the whole Stream of *Canonists*, *Civilians*, and *Divines*. It would have helped to have divorced more Queens and Princesses than *Catherine*, and God and his own Conscience know best at whose Motion, and for what Design, he wrote it ; and I leave him, as well as my Readers, especially of the Female Sex, to reflect upon what I say.

The

The next Instance of his Ingenuity is to be found in his *Pastoral Letter*; where, contrary to his own Sight and Knowledge, he makes King *John's* Charter to be the Measure of our *English* Government, in a most prevaricating manner. If any Man besides himself thinks me too rash or severe in this Censure, let him but compare that-part he hath published of it, with the whole Charter in Dr. *Brady's* History of King *John*, and consult what Mr. *L* hath said upon it, in his excellent Answer to his Pastoral Letter, and then if he continues to think so, I will retract my Censure.

The next Instance of his Sincerity, is to be found in the 105 Page of the second Part of his *History of the Reformation*; and I think it a greater Blemish to him, and his History, than hath been yet noted: But if he pleases he may lay the Blame of it too upon the late Bishop of *St. Asaph*. There he tells us of a Project to reconcile the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, in the Point of the Sacrament, by a *middle Opinion*, in which, he saith, *Luther* was willing to have the Difference composed. This he pretends to prove from an original M. S. of *Luther*, in C. C. C.'s Library in *Cambridge*, which he pretends to exemplify in his *Collection*, P. 166, N. 34. but very imperfectly and falsely, as may be seen by a true and perfect Copy of the Original in the (a) Appendix (a) N. II. herewith annexed. The Reader by comparing them together will find the many Prevarications which he hath used to set up this *Patern of Comprehension*. For first, after *CONTRARI* he leaves out *SACRAMENTO*, and instead of *Nil minus* he puts *Nilominus*, and after *Utile* leaves out *Quam*. A little after, for *Orientur* he puts *Orientium*, leaving a Gap for a Word which he saith is wanting, and guesses to be *OCCLUDENDI*; whereas there is not the least Sign of a void Space in the Original, and by consequence no occasion for Criticism or Conjecture. After *Pro futuris*, he leaves out all the Arguments by which *Luther* pertinaciously defends his Opinion; and then for *Conscientia bona capti sunt in Alteram Sententiam*, he puts *Conscientia bona sunt in Altera Sententia*; and after *Accedere* he leaves out a great deal in the Conclusion, wherein *Luther* declares he could bear with them in hopes of future Communion; but that he could not be of their Belief and Opinion, but he could allow of Civil Concord or Communion with them, as of Marrying, or Trading with one another. After which again, he expresses how strict he was for his own Doctrine, and by consequence far from a middle trimming Opinion,

nion, which might unite them into one Communion. He seems here, as he saith of (a) *Monsieur Maimbourg*, to have broken loose from the common Measures of Honesty and Shame, and to pay his Reader in *false Coin*, which he truly tells *Varillas* is more Criminal in History than in other Matters; and the least I can say of this pretended Willingness of *Luther* to make up the Difference between those of *Ausbourg*, and them of the *Helvetian* Confession, by a middle Opinion, is what he saith of *Varillas*, That it is all *Vision*, his own *Invention*, and composed out of his own *Imagination*, to serve the popular Design of *Comprehension*; which

Dr. *Sherlock* bemoaned before he took the Oaths, That it was still carried on by our *Latitudinarians*, to the endangering of every Thing that hath been received for Catholick and Fundamental in Christianity in the purest Ages of the Church. Indeed *Comprehension*, and in order thereunto an universal, unlimited Toleration, was for many Years the great *Diana* of our Funeral Preacher; and those who doubt of this may soon satisfy themselves in his old Acquaintance Mr. *Papin's* (b) Book, entitled, *La tolérance des Protestans*, &c. in which he vindicates what he had written for Toleration in a former

Book, entitled, *La Foi reduite à ses justes bornes*, and a great part of his Vindication of it consists in Copies of Dr. *Burnet's* Letters, wherein he highly commends the foreſaid Book, and another more extravagant in Latin, on the same Subject, written by *Strimesius*. But the horror *Papin* had of this boundless Latitude, which our Church of *England Universalist* Approved, and which, as he observes, ends in absolute *Scepticism*, gave him a Pretence of turning *Romanist*; to take Sanctuary in the Authority of the Church.

And now I am upon the Subject of *Latitude*, I will beg leave of the Reader to tell him a Story of Toleration, or *Comprehension*, (for the Difference sometimes is not great between them) which in the end will touch a little on our Preacher; of whom I must observe once for all, That it is his Opinion that

(c) *Reflections* (c) an Historian who favours his own Side is to be forgiven, though he puts a little too much Life in his Colours *Varillas*, p. 7, 8. when he sets out the best Side of his Party, and the worst of those from whom he differs; and if he but slightly touches the Failures of his Friends, and severely aggravates those of the other Side, though in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Historian, yet

yet this Bias is so Natural, that if it lessens the Credit of the Writer, yet it dath not blacken him. This shews how apt he is to favour his own Friends, and his own Party, beyond what is just and true; and being a known *Latitudinarian*, by his own Rule we can never safely trust him when he commends or defends any of his Friends of that Side. And it was upon the Score of *Latitudinarianism*, and mystical Devotion, that he loved to extol Dr. Layton, though by some Canons he hath cited in his *History of the Rights of Princes*, he was an Usurper of the See of *Glasgow*, as Dr. Tillotson was esteemed to be in a more offensive Degree of the See of *Canterbury*. But to return to his admired Dr. Layton, he was so great a Libertine in Comprehension, that he freely offered to receive the ejected *Presbyterian* Ministers without *Episcopal* Ordination, if they would come in, and to transact all Things in the Government of the Church with his *Presbyters* by plurality of Suffrages, strictly speaking as if he were no more than a *Presbyter* among them. Archbishop Burnet, into whose Chair he intruded, told Dr. Gunning Bishop of *Ely* this Story of his Intruder; and he wondering that any Bishop should give up that Power without which he could not act as Bishop, asked Dr. Burnet of the truth of it, which he positively denied. This denial of his obliged the good Archbishop for his Vindication to refer Bishop Gunning to a Book which he had left with a Friend, for the truth of what he had told him of the comprehensive Latitude of Dr. Layton. I saw the Book, and remember it was printed at *Glasgow*, and it so fully satisfied the Bishop, that he took it home with him; but before he went made some Reflections on the want of Ingenuity in Dr. Burnet, and concluded his Animadversions upon him with a Trick he shew'd himself: It relates to a Book called *Naked Truth*, which the Bishop intended to answer. Dr. Burnet, among others, hearing of it, come to wait upon him; and when that Discourse arose between them, he asked the Bishop upon what Scheme he intended to make his Answer. He, who was one of the most frank and communicative Men in the World, told him how he would answer it from Part to Part; which the Doctor observing with Design, carried every Thing away, and being a swift and ready Writer, printed his Answer to it, before the other had finished his.

I said before that he was also an Admirer of *Dr. Layton upon the Account of mystical Devotion; for he was an Enthusiast of

* I suppose he is the Angelical Man of whom he speaks such hyperbolic Things in the plural Number, and promises a particular Account of him in his Pref. before Bedel's Life.

of the first magnitude; and it was a great **Mischance**, that this Preacher preached not his Funeral Sermon. And as upon that Account he admired him, so was he wonderfully taken with *Lab-bades* Writings, and would have perswaded the Duke of *Lauderdale* to send for him into *Scotland*. One of his greatest *London* Friends hath also told me what Pains he, and some others, formerly took to correct the Enthusiasm of his Temper, and keep him from plunging himself into mystical Divinity: And when he was Professor at *Glasgow*, he was got so far into a Fit of it, that he set up for an *Ascetick*; and once, being in the Archbishop's House, and discoursing with his Daughter upon some common Subject, all on a sudden he leaped out of his Chair, and with a Tone, Look and Gesture, all Extarick and Enthusiastical, said Words to this Effect: *Now am I sure of my Salvation, now am I sure, that if the Earth should open and swallow me up this moment, my Soul would go to Heaven.* I had this Story from the good Archbishop, and I mention it because I have observed, in very many Instances, how Enthusiasm with its Religious Heats makes those in whom it is prevalent do the same ill Things, that Atheism in the same degree makes others do. They are indeed Depravations of the Mind very different in their Nature and Theory, but they agree in the same unrighteous Practices, and have a tendency to act the same Evils. For if the Atheist does Evil because he believes not; the Enthusiast will upon a thousand Occasions believe he may do any Evil. If the one sticks at no Means, though never so wicked, the other thinks the Goodness of the End will sanctify the most wicked Means. In a word, They both make a Cloak of Religion for Covetousness, Ambition, and Cruelty: They will both Lye, Murther, Rob, and Rebel for holy Church, and Religion; and there never yet was any Holy League, Covenant or Association, to begin or carry on Rebellion, under the holy Pretence of Religion, wherein the Ring-leaders were not Atheists, or Enthusiasts; and of the Two it is hard to tell which hath done most Mischief in any Kingdom, and especially in ours. But the Enthusiast makes the more plausible and taking Hypocrite of the Two; he can sooner melt into Tears, and more naturally counterfeit the Spiritual Man among the People, and transform himself with a better Grace into an Angel of Light. And one cannot but suppose that he had a great Dose of Enthusiasm in him, when he undertook to perswade the late unhappy Princess to invade her Father's Kingdom, against the Light of Nature, and the Principles of her Education; and that

he season'd his Perswasives with the Salt of Pharisaical Tears, pretended to be shed in Commiseration of the Church of *England*: For it is well known that he hath Tears at Command, as Enthusiasts of all Religions have. He wept like any Crocodile at Mr. Napleton's Relation of the barbarous Usage which the King met with at *Feverham*: And pray Mr. Napleton, said he, still wiping his Eyes, *carry my Duty to the King, and let him know my Concern for him.* Which puts me in mind of a Story that I have heard of that Master-Enthusiast *Cromwel*, who when a Gentleman came to entreat his Excellency, That he would give leave that he might have a Lock of the Beheaded King's Hair for an honourable Lady. Ah! no, Sir, saith he, bursting into Tears, that must not be; for I swore to him, when he was Living, that not an Hair of his Head should Perish.

I beg my Reader's Pardon for this Digression of *Enthusiasm*, though I hope it is not altogether impertinent to my Undertaking, and now return to shew by other Examples how apt our Preacher, or Historian, (call him which you please) is to write his Phantasies and Inventions for true History; and that he is very little, if any Thing at all, behind *Varillas* in this Fault, which a Man of Letters, especially a Divine, that desires to have a lasting Reputation, ought to avoid, as much as a Tradesman that values his Credit ought to take care not to sell Counterfeit or Sophisticated Goods. In his first Volume of his *History of the Reformation*, p. 209. he tells us of Two original Letters, the one in *Italian*, and the other in *English*, which the Lady *Elizabeth* not yet Four years of Age wrote to Queen *Jane Seymour*, when she was with Child of King *Edward*; and that they were both writ in the same hand; that she wrote all the rest of her Life. These are Two strange and incredible Things: First, That a Child not yet Four years old should have learned a foreign Language, to such a Degree of Perfection, as to be able to write Letters in it; and Secondly, That she should write then so well, as never to mend or alter her hand after. And so these Two, I may add those pretty waggish Conceits in the *English* Letter, which he hath there set down with this marginal Note, *Her Letter to the Queen not yet Four years of Age.* In this Letter the Compliments her Highness upon the Pain it was to her to write, her Grace being with Child; and then after many other Passages which could not be the first Blossoms of a Child, as he thinks, these Words follow; 'I cannot reprove my Lord for not doing your Commendations in his Letter, for he did it; and although he had

not, yet I will not complain on him, for that he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time, how his busy Child doth; for if I were at his Birth, no doubt I would see him beaten for the trouble he hath put you to. Now I appeal to any considering Man, whether these look like the Conceits of a Child not yet Four years old? And none certainly but an Historian so rash and phanciful in his Writings, as he is, would for this Reason have thought that this Letter

was written to the Queen: And had he taken (a) *Q. Eliz.* was time enough to reflect, and considered his (a) *Re-born Sep. 7. 1533.* word better, he would have found that *her High- Cath. Par* died in *ness* was not the Queen, but *Catherine Par*; and my *Child-bed of her* Lord not the King, but the *Lord Admiral*, to whom *Daughter in the* she was married; and, by consequence, that the *beginning of Sep.* Lady Elizabeth was then Fifteen years of Age. *1548.* How many Lashes must poor *Varillas* have had

(b) *P. 29.* without mercy, if he had been guilty of such a Blunder; I know, saith he, in his (b) *Reflections* upon him, *There are a Sort of Men that are much more ashamed when their Ignorance is discovered, than when their other Vices are laid open; since degenerate Minds are more jealous of the Reputation of their Understandings, than of their* (c) *I suppose he* (c) *Honour.* And whether this Discovery touches the Reputation of his Understanding, or his Honour most, I leave him to judge.

From hence I pass to *Bishop Bedel's* Life; of which he saith in the Preface, *That his Part in it was so small, that he can scarce assume any Thing to himself, but the Copying out of what was*

(d) *P. 195.* put into his Hands by *Mr. Clogy*. And in the (d) *Book* he saith again, *That Mr. Clogy is much more the Author of it than he is.* For this we have only his own Word, which

I profess signifies little with me. But to know what was his, and what *Mr. Clogy's*, he hath left us to Conjecture; though, I think, few that know his way of Writing will so much as doubt that the *Romanick* Passages, which I am going to cite out of it, and which are obtruded upon the World for true History, are his own Inventions, and not *Mr. Clogy's*. But however, though they were *Mr. Clogy's*, he is answerable for them for letting them pass unobserved, and unchastised into the World. But if they are his own, as I am confident they are, then let Men of the greatest Candor judge what Censure is fit for a Man that would write his own Imaginations for truth; though he had declared in the Preface,

That

That Lives were to be written with the Strictness of a severe Historian, and not helped up with Invention; and that those who do otherwise, dress up Legends, and make Lives rather than write them. To deceive, and at the same time to declare against deceiving, is double Imposture, and Imposition in an Historian. But Bishop Bedel it seems was worthy for whom our Historian should dispense with the Laws of History, as he (a) did with an Act (a) 13 Eli. 12. of Parliament upon a certain Occasion for reading the 39 Articles. It is manifest from the Bishops Letters, That he was a Latitudinarian in some Opinions, and from his Life, if it be true written, that he disliked the use of Organs in Divine Service, bowing at the Name of Jesus, the use of the Common Prayer in his private Family; and these, and some other pretended Antipathies to some innocent common Practices, tempted our Historian, contrary to the Duty which he ow'd Truth, and his Readers, to dress up his Life into a Romance: And to give him an heroick Fame, to say many Things for his Honour which he knew were not true, or at least was uncertain whether they were, or no. Thus (p. 4.) he saith, That his Reputation was so great, and so well established, both in the University and in Suffolk, that when King James sent Sir H. Wootton to be his Ambassador at Venice, at the time of the Interdict, he was recommended as the fittest Man to go Chaplain in so critical a Conjunction. This sounds well for his Here's Honour, had it been reconcilable to Truth; but it neither agrees with the Date of Sir H. Wootton's Credentials, nor the Time of his being in Venice, nor of the Interdict, all which shews that it was his own Invention and not matter of Fact: For the Credentials of Sir H. bare date in June, 1604. after which, in all probability, they got to Venice by Michaelmas after; whereas Pope Paul the V. who had that Quarrel with the Venetians, and put them under the Interdict, was not Pope till May, 1605. and he did not begin to Threaten and Thunder at them till September after; when Sir Henry and his Chaplain had been there about a Year. And Father Paul's History of the Interdict, translated into Latin by Mr. Bedel, gives so particular an Account of the Time of this Difference; that our Historian can have no tolerable Excuse, for saying he was amongst the fittest Man to go Chaplain in so critical a Conjunction.

In Pag. 101 he saith, That during his stay at Venice, Ant. de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, came to Venice, and having received a just Character of Mr. Bedel he discovered this Secret to him, &c. But for God's sake what Secret? Was it the Secret Design of leaving
not

not only his own Country, but all the Papal Dominions, which he so often (a) tells us he had thoughts of, for Ten years and upwards, before his putting it in Execution? Or was it the Secret Design he had of changing his Religion, to which the other Design was but subordinate? But how doth the Discovery of these Secrets agree with what he saith *Confil. perfect. Sect. 3. That the Call he had was Divine not Human, and with calling God and his own Conscience to witness, that no Persuasions or Invitations, of what sort soever, had ever reacht his Ears, and that he had used no Man's Counsel, nor consulted with any Mortal in that Business?* The improbability of this Passage, be it his, or be it Clogy's, makes me suspect the truth of what follows; viz. That the Archbishop shewed Bedel his Ten Books *de Rep. Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards, saith he, printed at London; and that Bedel corrected many ill Applications of Texts of Scripture, and Quotations of Fathers in them, all which the Archbishop took in good part, and used to say he could do nothing without him. Page 10, 11, he saith, *That a Passage fell out during the Interdict that made greater Noise than the Importance of it could perhaps amount to, but it was suited to the Italian Genius. There came a Jesuit to Venice, Thomas Maria Caraffa, who Printed a Thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity, which he Dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant Inscription, PAULO V. VICE DEO, &c.* This seems very strange, That a Jesuit should come to Venice, and do such bold and provoking Things in the time of the Interdict, when the whole Order had quitted the Venetian Dominions; and the State was so severe as to shut the Door upon them, and to keep them out at the Time of the Reconciliation, though great Endeavours were used to the contrary. This I say seems very strange; but to put the whole Matter out of all Dispute, First, This fell not out during the Interdict, but in 1608. whereas the Interdict was at an end in the beginning of 1607. as appears from the History of it. Secondly, Thomas Maria Caraffa was not a Jesuit, but a Dominican. Thirdly, He came not to Venice, but Printed his Theses at Naples, and at Rome; and Copies of them were sent as Novels from Rome, and did the more amuse the Venetians, because of the Controversy that State had with the Pope a little before. All this he might have seen in Bedel's Letters to Wadsworth, p. 355, 366, 367. And whereas he also writes in the forecited Place of his Life, That Mr. Bedel observing the numeral Letters of the Words, *PAULO V. VICE DEO* to make 666. the Number of the Beast in the Revelation, communi-

cated

cated his Observation to P. Paulo, and the Seven Divines, and that they carried it to the Duke, and Senate, who entertained it, as if it had come from Heaven. He himself, in the forecited Place of his Letters to Mr. Wadsworth, saith no such Thing; but only that the New Title Vice Deo, and that of Omnipotency, gave matter of Wonder; and that the next day it was noised about the City, that the Picture of the Pope, under which it was written, was the Picture of Antichrist; for that the Inscription, Paulo V. Vice Deo, contained exactly in the numeral Letters the Number of the Beast in the Revelation, 666. But to prevent the Amusement which might otherwise arise in the Mind of the Reader, about this impersonal way of Mr. Bedel's telling the Story of that ingenious Observation, he tells, he was too modest a Man to claim the Discovery of it. But Sir H. Wootton assured King James, that he first observed it: But how shall we be assured that Sir Henry told the King so? I profess his wilful Mistakes about Caraffa, and his Theses by which he contradicts both the History of the Interdict, and Mr. Bedel's own Account of the Fact, makes me notwithstanding doubt of this Particular, and here Query, having as yet no other Authority for it, Whether it be true, or no?

Pages 12, 13, 14, 15, he is so impudent as to build up the Fame and Reputation of Mr. Bedel upon the Infamy of Sir Henry Wootton his Patron, contrary to Truth, and the Justice that is due to the Memory of that great and good Man. "Here, saith he, I must add a Passage, concerning which I am in doubt, whether it reflected more on the Sincerity, or on the Understanding of the English Ambassador. The Breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crisis; so that it was expected a total Separation not only from the Court, but the Church of Rome, was likely to follow it. It was set on by Pope (a) Paulo, and the Seven Divines, with much Zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, King James ordered his Ambassador to offer all possible Assistance, and to accuse the Pope, and the Papacy, as the chief Authors of all the Mischiefs of Christendom.—

(a) This is but a slight Mistake; but because it is so often repeated, it should be taken notice of: For P. Paulo was himself one of the Seven, there being but Six employed by the Senate besides.

"P. Paulo, and the Seven Divines, pressed Mr. Bedel to move the Ambassador to present King James's PREMONITION TO ALL CHRISTIAN PRINCES AND STATES, then put in Latin to the Senate, and they were confident it would produce a great Ef-

Interdict, it was indeed lent by the Father at *Venice* to Mr. *Bedel*, but with this Condition, as he himself tells us, in the Epistle prefixt to the Translation, that he should not transcribe it; and if he had given it to him when he parted with him, there is no doubt but *Bedel* would also have mentioned that. Lastly, for the History of the *Inquisition*, there are some Passages in it which shew plainly, That it was not then in Being: For there is mention made in it, not only of Things which happen'd in 1610. just upon the return of Mr. *Bedel*, but also 1617. which appears not to be a Mistake in the Print by a Character there added, that it was 48 Years after 1569. which makes the Year 1617. Page 18. he saith, *When Bedel came over he brought along with him the Archbishop of Spalata, and one Despotine a Physician, who could no longer bear with the Corruptions of the Roman Church, &c.* It was in the Year 1610. that Mr. *Bedel* return'd with Sir. *H. Wootton* into *England*, and the bringing them over should in all Reason and Decency have been ascribed to the Ambassador, rather than his Chaplain; but having set him up for a Man that had his own Dislikes to bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, the alternative Reading and Singing of Psalms, bowing towards the Altar, instrumental Musick in Churches, and the use of the Common Prayer in private Families, he was resolved to paint him with a Glory, and transmit his Memory to after Ages by Fictions as well as true Stories, and even rob his Patron of his due Praises to extol him. Both these are evident from what he saith of *Bedel's* bringing over *Spalatenfis* and *Despotine*; for as for the former, it is evident from his *Consilium Professionis*, That he did not come over with *Bedel*, it bearing date at *Venice* 1616, near 6 Years after Mr. *Bedel's* return from that Place; and according-

- (a) P. 102. Dr. *Heylin* saith in the (a) Life of *Laud*, that *Antonius de Dorninis* betook himself for Sanctuary to the Church of *England*, An. 1616. And as for the latter, Sir *H. Wootton* claims to himself the Credit of bringing him over, as appears by his Letters. In (b) one to Sir *Edm. Bacon* he writes thus; *There cometh to you with him an Italian Doctor of Physick, by Name Gasper Despotine.*— *I was glad to be the Conductor of him where his Conscience may be free.* In another to my dear (c) *Nie.* he saith, *more than a voluntary Motion doth now carry me towards Suffolk, especially that I may confer by the way with an Excellent Physician at B—— whom I brought my self from Venice.*

I could produce more Instances out of *Bedel's* Life to shew how apt our *Author* of it is to write his own Inventions for true History, and thereby impose upon the World; but I believe I have brought enough for that purpose, and hope I have thereby Convinced all Lovers of Truth more than of Mens Persons, how unsafe it is to take Things upon trust from him. Mr. *Bedel* was really a Man of great Merit for his Learning, Life, and Christian Temper, which endear'd him to *Father Paul*, who took him into his very Soul, and * communicated * *See Sir Henry Wootton's Life by Mr. Walton.* his most inward Thoughts to him. He was also upon a strict Principle of Duty very Exemplary in Conformity to the Rites of the Church. He kept all Ember-weeks, and observed all the Canonical Hours of Prayer very conscientiously, and all the Feasts and Fasts of the Church. But Dr. *Burnet*, by writing so many Things to his Honour which are not true, hath very much dishonoured his Memory, and given those, who are come to the knowledge of him only by his Life, occasion to suspect every Thing he hath said of him, and that he hath described him not as he was, but as he would have the World believe him to have been. But to apply all to the Purpose of my own Writing; if he hath taken such Poetical Liberties where he promised to write with the *Severity of a strict Historian*, and to give only a bare and simple Relation of Things; I say, if he hath taken such Liberties, and made so bold with Truth, in the *Life of one Bishop*, contrary to his own Promises, I think we cannot be too cautious how we believe him in his *Funeral Sermon* upon the other; although he professes to speak of him with *Plainness and Simplicity*, with great Reserves, and with a *Moderesty of Style* through his whole Discourse. But I think I have shewed how little Professions of this Nature signify, when they come from him; and will only add, That our blessed Saviour's Advice of taking heed whom and what we hear, is very strictly to be observed then when we hear or read him, who is so apt to Romance, and to speak of Things and Persons as he would have them to be, rather than as they are: And that he hath so spoken in many Respects of Dr. *Tillotson*, and praised him above his Merits, and more than his Memory deserves, is according to the Method of the mentioned Conference which I proposed to follow, to be the Subject of the ensuing Chapter.

C H A P. II.

AMong the many worthy Men of our Church, whose Memories have been transmitted to Posterity, we read of some who have forbidden Sermons to be preached at their Funerals; of others, who have forbidden that any mention should be made of them in their Funeral Sermons; and others again have taken care to nominate Persons to preach at their Funerals, in whose great Prudence and Judgment they had an entire Confidence, that they would speak more to the Living than of the Dead; and that what they spoke of them would be Just, Modest, and Genuin; and such as they might have said of themselves without Arrogance had they been Living, or heard others say of them without Confusion. Had Dr. Tillotson been so careful as to follow any one of these Examples, or his Friends so well advised as to follow them for him, he would have had more rest in his Grave, and perhaps not had his Name so soon, and so strictly called into question: But having had the Misfortune after his Death to have his Funeral Sermon preached by a Man who hath shewed so little Temper and Justice in his Character, but raised his Fame to an undue Pitch upon the Defamation of others more worthy than he; I thought I should do a Work acceptable to all Lovers of Truth, and of the true Church of *England*, if I shewed in some Instances how undeserving he was of that Character; and by noting some of his defects, which ought to be noted, prevent the Danger which unwary Readers, and Hearers of his Funeral Sermon, might otherwise fall into, of following him upon the implicit Belief of this Character, in the Wrong as well as in the Right, and walk after him as securely in the devious paths of Errour, as in the strait way of Truth. For who would not chuse to follow

- (a) P. 28. the Example of a Man, *(a) whose Life was free from Blemishes, and shined in all the Parts of it; and (b) who was an Example of all (sublime and heroic) Piety and Virtue and a Pattern both to Church and State?* And who more especially of our Religion, would not follow a Church-man who *will* be such a lasting Honour to it, and who *(c) kept the sacred Trust of the Christian Faith and Doctrine, and maintained it pure and undefiled to his dying Day?* This is the lofty Character which our Preacher hath given us of Dr. T. but falsely, and so much above his Merit, That he hath had the deplorable Intelicity to do many

many Things contrary to every part of it, as I shall shew in some signal Instances; which were *blemishes* in his Life, and will remain such Blots upon his Memory, as no Apology will ever be able to wash out

My first Instance shall be in his Apostacy from his own avowed Principle and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, the once venerable Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, or *Passive Obedience*; in which our Church hath taught her Children how they should behave themselves towards Men, and approve themselves towards God, if she and they should come to be persecuted for the Tryal of their Faith, as the purest Churches and best Christians have been in former Ages. He did not only (a) *In his Subscription to the Truth of this Doctrine, and in the Profession of the Truth of it, declare it unlawful to take up Arms against the King upon any Pretence whatsoever*; but pressed it upon the Consciences of Living and Dying Men: And when he preached against Popery, he asserted it not only in the most serious manner that good Divines use to do the most important matters of Christianity, but with that *Strength and Clearness*, which, our Preacher saith, *is his peculiar Talent*.

In his Letter to my Lord *Russel* in *Newgate*, which the Reader will find in the (b) Appendix, he told (b) N. 2. his Lordship, who did not believe that Doctrine, *what a great and dangerous Mistake he was in*, and that his disbelief of it, which was but *a Sin of ignorance before he was Convinced of the Truth of it*, became a Sin of a more heinous Nature after his Conviction, and called for a more deep and particular Repentance; and that if he dyed in a disbelief of it, *he was like to leave the World in a Delusion and false Peace*; and pursuant to this, in his last Prayer with his Lordship on the Scaffold, he said, *Grant, Lord, that all we who survive, by this and other Instances of thy Providence, may learn our Duty to God and the King*. What could a Man have said more in behalf of any Doctrine of the Christian Religion? Or what could he have done more, to convince the World he was in good Earnest, than to publish it after he said it? And yet in his *Thanksgiving Sermon* (c) preached at *Lincolns Inn*, he tells us, (c) Jan. 31. That our Deliverance (then the Phrase of the Revolution) was *the Lord's doing*, although it was brought about by the utter Violation of that Doctrine, and the whole Duty of Subjects, which results from it; and then reciting the *Strange*

means by which it was brought about. *We must not, saith he, here forget the many Worthies of our Nation, who did so generously run all hazards of Life and Fortune, for the Preservation of our Religion, and the Asserting our Ancient Laws and Liberties.* Behold the Preacher at *Lincolns Inn*, and the Confessor in *Lincolns Inn Fields*, contradicting one another. The Confessor told my Lord *Russell*, That the *Christian Religion* plainly forbids the *Resistance of Authority*, and that the same *Law* which established our Religion, declares it not lawful to take up Arms upon any Pretence whatsoever. But the Preacher, now turned Apostate from the Confessor, commends the many Worthies, as he calls the Traytors and Rebels of our Country, for soliciting a Foreign Prince, and the Creature of another State, to invade their own Sovereign's Dominions, and assisting of him in the Undertaking, till they had driven him out of his Kingdoms. He saith, It was generously done of them to run all hazards of Life and Fortune, and he might have added of their Salvation too, for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties; although he had told the World before, that our Laws forbid the Preservation of them by those means; nay, that the *Laws of Nature, and the Rules of Scripture*, had not left us at Liberty to use them; which was in effect to say, That neither our Laws would have our Religion, nor our Religion have it self preserved, by the Means those Worthies used for its Preservation. The Belief of the Lawfulness of Resisting, when our Rights and Liberties should be invaded, was a *Sin of a dangerous and heinous Nature in my Lord Russell*; but the Practice of it was laudable in I know not how many Lords and Gentlemen more, for preserving our Religion, Laws, and Liberties by it; and if any of them since are gone out of the World in a *Delusion and false Peace*, he is one of those Divines who more especially must Answer to God for it. For it was after a close Consult with him, and one or two more, that a Motion was made in the House of Lords for *Appointing a Day of Thanksgiving to God for having made his Highness P. O. the glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power*: And then it was that our *English Worthies*, as well as the *Heroes* under whom they acted, were applauded in the Pulpits for the Success of that Glorious Enterprize, which to think or speak of in a slighting manner, was, in his Opinion, to be guilty of the foulest and blackest Ingratitude both to God, and them.

One would wonder how any Christian Man, but more especially how a Christian Preacher, should so plainly contradict himself, and his most serious Doctrines; and yet have the Confidence since

to Reprint them, as if he had never said, nor done any Thing inconsistent with them. Hear therefore what he saith of Religion, our dear and holy Religion, which the Worthies of our Nation run such an Hazard to preserve. (a) *As (2) Serm. preach-* for Religion, the very Heathens always spoke of it as *ed on the Fifth of* the great Band of human Society, and the Foundation Nov. 1678. and of Truth, and Fidelity, and Justice, among Men. But Reprinted 1691. when Religion once comes to supplant moral Righteousness, and to teach Men the absurdest Things in the World, to Lye for the Truth, and to Kill Men for God's sake; when it serves to no other Purpose, but to be a Bond of Conspiracy to inflame the Tempers of Men to a greater Fierceness, and to set a keener Edge upon their Spirits, and to make them ten times more the Children of Wrath and Cruelty than they were by Nature; then surely it loses its Nature, and ceases to be Religion: For let any Man say worse of Atheism and Infidelity if he can. And for God's sake what is Religion good for, but to reform the Manners and Dispositions of Men, to restrain human Nature from Violence and Cruelty, from Falshood and Treachery, from Sedition and Rebellion? Better it were there were no revealed Religion, and that human Nature were left to the Conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations—then to be acted by a Religion which inspires Men with so wild a Fury, and prompts them to commit such Outrages, and is continually supplanting Government, and undermining the Welfare of Mankind. In short, such a Religion that teaches Men to propagate and advance (and he might have added, preserve) its self by means so evidently contrary to the very Nature and End of Religion.

This is Dr. Tillotson's fam'd Character of Religion; and not to descant in long Applications upon it, I desire my Reader to consider, if it is not as applicable to the New as to the Old Fifth of November, and the Worthies of the Protestants, as well as the Popish Religion, who conspired against James the Second, as these did against James the First. Tell me, O ye Worthies of the Church of England, who have hazarded your Lives and Fortunes to preserve our Religion, Is it more lawful to Plot and Rebel for holy Church of England, than for holy Church of Rome? And is it not as much Priestcraft in our Divines to applaud you as Worthies for so doing, as it was in the Pope to compare the Duke of Guise, and his Partizans, to those Jewish Worthies, Jephtha, Gideon, and the Maccabees, and do you not despise them for their sordid Flattery of you in open Contradiction to their own Doctrines, and the Principles of that Religion which they pretend still to profess;

May I not say with Dr. Till. against himself, (a) That
 (a) *Serm. Vol. 3. p. 77.* a Miracle is not enough to give Credit to a Man who
 teaches Things so contrary to the Nature of Religion,
 (b) *P. 10.* and that (b) the Heaſthen Philoſophers are better Caſuiſts
 than he. This he ſaid of the Jeſuiſts, and the Ca-

ſuiſts of the Church of Rome, for maintaining the Lawfulneſs of
 depoſing Kings, and ſubverting Government, and yet without
 Bluſhing he maintained the Lawfulneſs of this in commending you.

But this is but one Inſtance of acting in contradiction to his
 own Doctrine, when the appointed time of tryal came; there
 are many more ſo well known, that I need not mention them: For
 indeed his whole Practice ſince the Revolution hath been one Series
 of Apoſtacy, and by which he hath not only diſhonoured his Me-
 mory, and made all his other Good be evil ſpoken of, but been a
 Scandal to our holy Church and Religion, to which our Preacher
 ſaith, he was *ſuch an Honour*; given the Enemies of them great
 occaſion to Triumph, their beſt and moſt ſtedfaſt Friends great
 occaſion of Grief and Shame: And laſtly, tempted looſe and un-
 principled Men to turn Atheiſts, and ridicule our Prieſthood and

Religion; and this he hath been told of in ſuch diſ-
 ſerent manners, that I do not wonder (c) it ſank
 (c) *Fun. Serm. p. 27.* deep into him, and had ſuch influence upon his
 Health.

I cannot imagine but that one Letter which was ſent to his
 Lady for him, ſuſcribed for Dr. Tillotſon, muſt needs diſquiet
 him very much, if he received it, and read it. It is written through-
 out with a ſerious Air, and every Line of it ſpeaks to his Con-
 ſcience; and becauſe I know the worthy Gentleman who wrote
 it, and that it is a full and clear Proof of what I have ſaid, I pre-
 ſent my Reader, but more eſpecially the Preacher of his Funeral
 Sermon, with a few Paragraphs of it, if he will have

(d) *Letter p. 2.* the Patience to read them. It begins thus, (d) " Sir,
 " I ſhall preface what I am about to ſay with an
 " Affurance, That I have formerly had the greateſt Veneration
 " for you, as well for your Piety as good Senſe and Learning;
 " that my Notions of Government are ſo large, that the firſt Thing
 " I ever doubtfully Examined, that had your Name affixed to it,
 " was your Letter to my Lord Ruſſel: But your Actions ſince do leſs
 " quadrate with that Opinion, and ſeriouſly make me addreſs my
 " ſelf to you to know how you reconcile your preſent Actings to
 " the Principles either of Natural or Revealed Religion; eſpecially
 " how

" how you reconcile them with the Positions and Intentions of
 " that Letter, and consequently whether you have a
 " Belief of God, and the World to come.---- (a) But (a) R. 5.
 " to come to your more particular-Case; I beseech
 " you to publish some Discourse (if you can clear Things) to de-
 " monstrate either your Repentance of what you wrote to my
 " Lord *Ruffel*; or the Reasons that make *that*, and *what* you now
 " do, consistent; and that you, with the usual Solidity with which
 " you treat upon other Subjects, justify the Proceedings, and explain
 " the Title of K. *W.* I know no Body hath a stronger and clearer
 " Head, and, if you have Truth on your Side, you can write un-
 " answerably. *God's Glory, and the Reputation of the Protestant Reli-*
 " *gion, is at Stake. Your own good Name calls for it, and more espe-*
 " *cially because you have accepted a most Reverend and Devout*
 " *Man's Archbishoprick.* A Man who hath given Evidence how un-
 " alterably he is a Protestant. *A Sufferer formerly for the Laws, and*
 " *Church of England; and a Sufferer for those very Principles upon which*
 " *that Letter to my Lord was written, for those very Principles which*
 " *you disputed for, when he had so short a time to Live:* Nay, which
 " you remember'd him of even upon the Scaffold, with the dread-
 " ful Commination of eternal Woe. Really, Sir, if there be any
 " Truth, if there be any Vertue, if there be any Religion, what
 " shall we say to these Things? What will you say to them? You
 " must be at the Pains to clear this matter, that we may not be-
 " lieve the Boundaries of Right and Wrong, the Measures of Vio-
 " lence and Justice, quite taken away; that we may
 " not be tempted to (b) speculative, and from (b) P. 7.
 " thence to practical Atheism. This Change has
 " made many sober Men sceptical, and gone further towards the
 " eradicating all the Notions of a Deity, than all the Labours of
 " *Hobbs*; and your part in it hath, I confess, more stagger'd me
 " than any one Thing else. I have been ready to suspect, That
 " Religion it self was a Cheat, and that it was a Defect in my
 " Understanding that I could not look through it: For I think if
 " I can know my Right-hand from my Left, our present Govern-
 " ment stands upon Foundations that contradict all those Discour-
 " ses which you, as well as others, have lent to Passive Obedience.
 " The excessive Value I have for you, for your Knowledge, your
 " Judgment, your largeness of Spirit, your Moderation, and ma-
 " ny other great Qualities, that have signaliz'd your Name, once
 " made you one of the greatest Ornaments of the Christian
 " Church.

" Church. — *Apostacy* from what you preached, and wrote, pretended to believe, and would have others believe, shake me so violently in the first *Credenda* of Religion, That I beseech you, if you think it necessary upon no other Account, that you will publish such a Discourse at least for the Satisfaction of mine, and other Men's Consciences, who I can assure you of my own Knowledge lie under the same Scruples with my self; have the same Scruples in relation to the Government, and the same Temptations to question Religion it self upon your

(a) P. 8. " Account. — (a) I beg of God Almighty to lay an happy constraint upon me to do what may be most for his Glory, and the Good of these Nations; and I earnestly supplicate him, that he will enable me to suffer whatever may be necessary for those great Ends, and that he will incline you to publish your Reasons, or Repentance.

The Gentleman who wrote this Letter to Dr. T. is a Person of great Candour and Integrity, and was once a great Admirer of him; and from his Example we may see what a mighty Scandal the Doctor's *Apostacy* hath been to the very Notion of all Religion, as well as that professed in the Church of England: And I have heard him say, since Dr. Tillotson's Death, that he thinks he was an Atheist, as much as a Man could be, though the gravest, said he, *certainly that ever was*; and this Opinion, which this Gentleman, and many others have of him, is owing to that great and scandalous Blemish of his Life, his *Apostacy* from his own Doctrines about *Non-resistance*, and the *Nature of Religion*; and this foul Blemish which hath tempted that serious and worthy Gentleman, and others, to question Religion it self upon his Account, is like to be an everlasting Blot upon his Memory, unless his Funeral Preacher, or Dr. Sherlock, or Dr. Pain, who have mentioned him in their Sermons with so much Respect, will please to write a Discourse on purpose to reconcile the Contradiction between his late Practice, and former Principles and Precepts; which he himself, though called on in so solemn a manner, had not the Hardiness to do. I beg Mr. Manningham's, who is one of his Doctors, Pardon, for not mentioning of him among the others; for he perhaps hath found out a way to reconcile them, because he *Sainted* him in his Prayer before the Sermon, which he preached to the Sons of the Clergy-men at *Bow*: But if he is pleased to undertake a Discourse of that Nature, he must take care not to forget himself; who in a Sermon at the *Rolls*, while the *Convention* was a sitting,

ting, said, That a Convention of English Subjects could no more make a King, than a Convention of Atoms make the World.

That which gave the great Offence to the Gentleman, whose Letter I have cited, was the Inconsistency of the Doctor's Practices with his Principles since the Revolution; to which I must further add, That his Practices long before it were not well reconcilable with them, nor they with his Practices: And of this I will give one Instance, and that was his great Intimacy with the late Lord *Shaftsbury*; and particularly about that time when he preached on the Fifth of November, 1678. and his Acting in consort with him then in upholding the Pretensions of the Duke of *Monmouth* to be the King's Legitimate Son, and giving credit to those innumerable Lyes which were invented at *Thane's House* to support the Credit of the *Popish Plot*. I question very much whether more Lyes and Calumnies against the King and the Government were then dispersed from his, or my Lord *Shaftsbury's* House: I have particular Reason for what I say; for I was then well acquainted with a Person who was very intimate with one of his Favourite Acquaintance, to whom he used to go very often, in great kindness to disabuse his Credulity, and confute those Stories which he used to hear in *Amen Corner* often to his disturbance. He was pleased to call that Gentleman his *Sive*, because he was wont to separate the Tarts from the Wheat, and the Bran from the Flour of his Stories; and by conversing with him, I came to know more of the great Intercourse and Correspondency there was between my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and the *Dean of Canterbury*, than was commonly known. The *Dean* used to go in those Days Three or Four times a Week to my Lord's House, but very privately; and there often met among others one of his Relations, a great Lord of the Court, whom I think not fit to Name. My Lord D. who was then committed to the Tower, by the Malice of his Enemies, knew well how much the *Dean* was in their Interests, and particularly the great Esteem he was in among those who were the Confidants at *Thane's House*. This obliged his Lordship to write to him to entreat him to do him all the good Offices he could among that Party: The *Dean* upon this went to wait upon his Lordship in the Tower; but how far he engaged in that Negotiation for my Lord's Service, I cannot now remember, but the Event shew'd that there was little Effect of it.

Remembering these Stories, and the many slanderous Reports that had come from his House, and used to be told upon his Authority

thority against the King and Government, I was curious to see his Sermon against *Evil Speaking*, upon *Tit. 3. 2.* which was occasioned by some ill Reports and Reflections that went abroad of himself, and *this Government* more especially, in the unlicensed Prints of the Times. There I was very much pleased to find him condemning *Evil Speaking*, as a detestable Vice; whether it were by being the first Authors of ill Reports, or by relating them from others; by speaking before a Man's Face, or behind his Back, directly or obscurely, by way of Insinuation, by down-right Reproach, or with a Preface of Commendation, &c. More especially was I pleased, and astonished withal, to find him setting forth the heinous Nature of reviling those whom God hath placed in Authority, and to slander the Footsteps of the Lord's Anointed. I could not but admire the Power of Conscience, and of Divine Truth, to extort this from a Man who had been so guilty of it, as you shall find by the following Story.

King Charles the Second taking Notice of the false and scandalous Report of his Marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's Mother, made a Declaration on the Sixth of January, 1679. written with his own Hand, in these Words following. — *I do here declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, that I never was Married, nor gave any Contract to any Woman whatsoever, but to my Wife Queen Catherine, to whom I am now Married.* This Declaration was made in the Presence of *W. Cant. H. Finch, C. H. Coruentry, J. Williamson.* In March following his Majesty made a more publick Declaration in the Privy Council, to strengthen the former, in these Words. — *For the avoiding any Dispute which may happen in time to come, concerning the Succession to the Crown, I do here declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, that I never made, nor gave any Contract of Marriage, nor was Married to any Woman whatsoever, but to my present Wife Queen Catherine now Living.* Whitehall the Third of March, 1679. This Declaration, attested by Sixteen Privy Counsellors, was entered in the Council Book, and Copies of it quickly got abroad; and as it came to Dr. Tillorson's Hands sooner we may be sure than most Men's; so he had the Ingenuity to note it for an Equivocal Declaration: As if the King, contrary to the Punctuation of it, and the common Usage of English Speech, had meant it in this Sense; *I do here declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, that I never made, nor gave any Contract of Marriage, nor was Married to any Woman whatsoever NOW LIVING, but to my present Wife Queen Catherine.* I had this Story from one whom I shall Name it called

led upon for it, to whom he made this Observation ; and though I never mentioned it to any Person till very lately, yet the Observation was whispered about, and coming to the King's Ears, with other additional Rumours concerning his Marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's Mother ; he set out a Declaration

June the 8. 1680. in which, after a (a) Recital of his (a) *Lond. Gazette, N. 1519.* two former Declarations, are these Words : *And we* *do again call God Almighty to Witness, and declare upon*

the Faith of a Christian, and the Word of a King, That there was never any Marriage, or Contract of Marriage, had or made between us, and the said Mrs. Walters, alias Barlow, the Duke of Monmouth's Mother, nor between us and any Woman whatsoever, our Royal Consort Queen Catherine that now is only excepted. This last Declaration put an end to this Calumny, which

I think was slandering the Lord's Anointed, and back-biting him with a Witness ; as I think also what he saith of the *French King*, in his Thanksgiving Sermon for the *late Victory at Sea*, may justly be esteemed. There he compares him to Lucifer, and taxeth him

of Pride, Presumption, foolish Ignorance ; of Tyranny, Oppression, Injustice, and of Cruelty ; more barbarous than ever the most barbarous Nations did commit ; and all this in manifest repugnance and contradiction to the Sermon he had preached against

Evil Speaking, in which he taxeth all Parties that *love to blast the Reputation of their Adversaries, and especially those that are of a different Religion.* But all this of King Lewis, whom his own Subjects stile

the *Just*, and the *Great*, is nothing in comparison to the most unchristian Slanders with which he hath loaded his own Sovereign, both before and since the Revolution. Although he,

among the rest of the *London Clergy* in their (b) *Ad-* (b) *App. N. 4* dress to his Majesty, did not only bless God for his

Accession to the Crown, but promise all faithful and dutiful Allegiance to him, and also prayed for his long and happy Reign. After

this a Man of *heroick Honour*, much more of *heroick Piety*, would have scorned and abhorred to represent his Prince as one of the

greatest Villains ; 'tis his Majesty's own Phrase for himself, upon the Supposal that he could be so unnatural to his own Daughters, and Subjects, as to conspire, with his most virtuous Consort, to

forge a Son and Heir to the Crown. All Caluists and Divines teach us, That it is as great a Sin to slander any innocent Person with a Crime of any Sort, as it would have been for him to commit it ; and this, according to his own Sermon against *Evil Speaking*, is a

greater

(a) *Inst. Lib. 4. de Injuriis. Atrox injuria. æstimatur ex persona, veluti si Magistratus injuriam passus fuerit, vel si Senatori ab humili persona injuria facta sit, aut Parenti, Patrono. fiat. à Libertis vel Libertis.* greater Sin when a (a) Subject flanders his own Sovereign, and God's Anointed : And yet he had the Misfortune to be a private Defamer of their Majesties with that pretended unnatural Imposture ; and the Authority of his Whispers and Suspitions, added much Credit all over the Town to the wretched Report. I am not able to express the *Atrocity* of this complex Injury to the King,

the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, and the Mischiefs that have thereupon ensued to the Three Kingdoms : And this Heroick and Unblemished Man of Piety, for any Thing we know to the contrary, went out of the World without any Remorse for it ; at least without such a penitential Remorse, as brought him to make what Satisfaction he was able to God and the King for it : And let our Preacher say what he pleases now, or hereafter, when he brings forth his *Reserves*, this is such a Stain and Blemish in his Life, as he with all his Arts and Artifices will never be able to get out. He tells us, He had *no Burthen on his Conscience on his Death-Bed* : No more had his Uncle *Cromwel* ; and I protest considering these Things, and his Intrusion into the Archbishop's Throne, and that long train of Sins that followed thereupon, one would almost be tempted to fear that he died in *Delusion and false Peace of Conscience*, or that his Belief of his own Doctrine of *Hell Torments* gave his Mind ease.

This brings me to another Blemish of his Life, and that is, his Sermon of the Eternity of Hell Torments, upon *Matth. 25. 46.* which the Reader may find in the Fourth Volume of his Sermons. In this Sermon, as he openly and directly writes against the Eternity of *Hell Torments* ; so covertly he undermines the

(b) P. 163. Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, by asserting, (b) That *what Proportion soever there is between, and Punishment, the Justice of God is not concerned in it.* And then as for the Torments of Hell, he saith, *They are so terribly Severe,*

(c) P. 175. *that (c) we can hardly tell how to reconcile them with the*
(d) P. 165. *Justice and Goodness of God : And that (d) God keeps the Right of Punishing in his own hand, and is not obliged to execute what he threatens, any further than the Reasons and End of Government require ; and that he may remit and abate*

as much as he pleaseth of the Punishment that he hath threatened. (a) We are all bound to preach, and you to (a) P. 173. believe, the Torments of the Lord, saith he, ye not so as saucily to determine and pronounce what God must do in this Case; for after all, he may do what he will. And in another Place yet more emphatically; The Sentence of Judgment at the last Day, Depart ye Cursed into everlasting Fire, and likewise this Declaration in my Text, that the Wicked shall go into everlasting Punishment, do not restrain God from doing what he pleaseth. This he has said of Hell Torments, which God hath not only threatened as a Judge, and solemnly enacted and decreed as a Law-giver, but our Saviour taught, as the great Doctor and Prophet of his Church; and yet notwithstanding these Considerations, and the constant uniform Belief of all Christians, and all Churches and Sects of Christians, of the Severity and eternal Duration of Hell Torments, (b) he (b) P. 166. makes God, notwithstanding his Sanction and Threatnings, and our Saviour, after all his and his Apostles Doctrines concerning these Punishments, as free not to execute them as he was not to destroy Nineveh, after his Prophet Jonas (whom he decently calls his peevish Prophet) had denounced the Destruction thereof. Nay, he counts it *Sauviness* to believe and assert this Catholick Doctrine; and his Example of Nineveh also implies, that there is room for Repentance in the next World, which is a most presumptuous, dangerous, and heretical Insinuation. And all this was preached at Court: And is it not sweet

and delicious Doctrine (c) for the Lawless (c) 1 Tim. I. 9, 10.

and Disobedient, for the Ungodly and for Sinners, for the Unholy and Profane, for (d) Murderers of Fathers, and Murderers of Mothers, for Man-slayers, for Whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with Mankind, for Man-stealers, for Lyars, for perjured Persons, or any other Things that is contrary to sound Doctrine? And accordingly when it was first Published, the Atheists, and Deists, and Socinians of the Town, carried it about them to shew it in all Places, glorying every where in the Doctrines of it, and extolling the Author for a Man who durst speak Truth, and set Mankind free from the Slavish Notion of eternal Torments; and saying they believed most of our Clergy-men were of the same Opinion, if they durst speak out. I tell this the rather to provoke the Con-

(d) *Voces Græcæ eos significare possunt qui citra necem parentes percusserunt, idemque valent quod Πατέρας, & Μαρτύρους, ut notant Suidas, Hesych. Eustath. Polisyneps. in locum.*

cation to purge themselves of the Scandal this Sermon hath raised upon them, by a publick Censure of it; their own Honour, and the Honour of the Church, and the Care they have of Peoples Souls, obligeth them to do it. Nay, the People have a Right to demand and require it in God's Name of them; and the not doing of it, I think in my Conscience, will be such an heinous Sin of omission, as may justly provoke God to forsake the Church of *England*, as he forsook the Seven *Asian* Churches, and make it as desolate as them. Nay, furthermore I dare be bold to say, That had this Man lived in that Age when the Bishops rose up and deposed *Paulus Samosatenus* for his Blasphemies, they would have deposed him for his. For to apply the Words of the Apostle upon another Occasion, If Christ, the great Doctor and Legislator of his Church, and Judge of all Men at the last Day, after all his Doctrines and Threatnings concerning Hell-Torments, is not obliged to execute them accordingly, then is your Preaching, O ye Clergy vain, and our Faith vain; yea, and you are found false Witnesses of God, because you have testified that he will inflict eternal Torments, although he is free to do what he will, and may please whether he will inflict them, or no. This is the natural Reflection which every Clown will make upon the Clergy upon this Man's Doctrine of Hell Torments; and therefore it is to be hoped they will make haste to Anathematize it, and that there is more than ordinary Cause for them to do so, will appear from this following Story, which I had from a Learned Clergyman of great Sincerity, concerning the Secret of this damnable Opinion. The first Author of it among us was an *old Seepick* of *Norwich*, who wrote a Book of the Subject, which he used to put into the hands of others to proselyte them to his Opinion. When he put it into the hands of this Clergyman, upon whose Authority I tell this Story, he protested to him, That he had Converted *Dr. Tillotson*, and Five or Six Divines more, most of which are now in great Places of the Church. I wish I could have seen that Treatise of his, to compare it with this Sermon of *Hell Torments*; and then I should have seen whether the Author of it borrowed it thence, as some of his Friends have assured me he borrowed his *Rule of Faith*, in answer to *Mr. Serjeant's Sure Footing*, from the Discourses of the Learned *Dr. Graddock*, who designed to answer that Book.

I have said a great deal on the Occasion of this wretched Sermon; but one Thing more I must Remark, and that is this: (4) He

(a) He tells us, That if God intended his Threatnings (a) P. 136. of *Hell Torments* should have their Effects to deter Men from Sinning, it cannot be imagined that in the same Revelation, which declares these Threatnings, any intimation should be given of the Abatement or Non-execution of them. But for God's sake, what need God be so careful not to intimate that which this Man could find out? Or why would it weaken his Laws more, or take off the Edge and Terror of his Threatnings, for him to intimate this Abatement, than for his Ministers to do it? And therefore to turn his own Conclusion in his own Phrases upon himself; Was it not a *very impious Design* in him, and a *betraying Men into misery*, not only to intimate this Abatement, but to teach it, and by Arguments in a set Discourse to go about to persuade Men into a Belief of it? Had he lived in the Days of that Great and Apostolick Archbishop, whose Works he hath Licensed to be published with the just and glorious Title of *Martyr*, he and his Sermon had not passed so free from Censure. Oh may that English *Cyprian's* Primitive Apostolical Spirit of Orthodoxy and Discipline fall upon our English Clergy, that God may bless them, and delight to do them and the Church good; and make them as much the Veneration and Glory, as latitude in Projects and Opinions, looseness in Discipline, and departing in Practice from their Principles, have made them the Scorn and Contempt of the World.

From his Sermon on *Hell Torments*, I pass to that preached at *Whitehall* in *April* 1680. upon *Joshua* 24. 15. In which the following Passage, though levelled at the Papists, gave great Offence to very many, both of the Church and Dissenting Communion.

"I cannot think till I be better informed (which I am always ready to be) that any Pretence of Conscience warrants any Man, that is not extraordinarily Commissioned, as the Apostles and first Publishers of the Gospel were, and cannot justify that Commission by Miracles, as they did to affront the Established Religion of a Nation, although it be false, and openly draw Men off from the Profession of it, in contempt of the Magistrate and the Laws. All that Persons of a different Religion can in such a Case reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private Liberty and Exercise of their own Consciences and Religion, for which they ought to be very thankful; and to forbear the open making of Profelytes to their own Religion (though they be never so sure they are in the Right.) till they have either an extraordinary

"Com.

“ Commission from God to that purpose, or the Providence of
 “ God make way for it, by the Commission or Connivance of the
 “ Magistrate. This is down-right *Hobbism*; and a witty Lord standing
 at the King’s Elbow when he spake it, said, Sir, Sir, do you
 hear Mr *Hobs* in the Pulpit? In truth, according to this Doctrine,
 there’s no stemming the Torrent of any Errour, or Irreligion; no
 not of Idolatry it self, when it happens to be Regnant, and get
 the Civil Sanction: And it severely reflects not only upon the Ho-
 nour of the Orthodox Bishops and Clergy in the *Arian* Reigns, but
 on the Memory of the most celebrated Reformers in most Coun-
 tries. And should God permit Popery to get but one Act of Par-
 liament, how *Bribed* and *Pensionary* soever in this Nation, our Cler-
 gy by this Doctrine would have nothing to do, but to pray at
 home, and deliver up their Flocks to the Wolves. Dr. *Gunning*,
 the good and learned Bishop of *Ely*, was so sensible of this conse-
 quence, that he complained loudly of it in the House of Lords,
 as a Doctrine that would serve the Turn of Popery; and so in-
 consistent is it with, and destructive of the Rights of the Church,
 as a Society distinct from the State, and independent of it, espe-
 cially in Times of Persecution, when it must

(a) Dr. *Lowth* of the
 Subject of Church Pow-
 er, in whom it resides,
 its force, extent, and ex-
 ecution. Printed for B.
Tooke, 1685.

stand upon its own Rights, That it occa-
 sioned (a) a very Orthodox and Learned Di-
 vine to write an excellent Book against it,
 to which it is hoped he will put his last
 hand, and give another Edition. And what
 Dr. *Patriak* then thought of this easy, but
 treacherous Doctrine, may be seen in what

he wrote to Dr. *Parker* then Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, in the fol-
 lowing Words. “ A Passage, I assure you, which I and some of
 “ our common Acquaintance read not without a great deal of
 “ Trouble, when we first saw it. — They think it would be well
 “ to admonish him in a Letter of this Errour, and to represent the
 “ Consequences of it to him, Exposing his Opinion. — It is
 “ plain, by another Passage in that Sermon, that he was not A-
 “ wake, nor had his Wits about him, as he used to have at other
 “ Times, when he wrote it. The Place I mean is Page 9. There
 “ the very Existence of a God may be thought to be called into
 “ question by him, and to be in his account but a Politick Inven-
 “ tion: For thus he writes, pressing Religion as the strongest Band
 “ of human Society; God is so necessary to the Happiness and Welfare of
 “ Mankind, as if the Being of God himself had been purposely designed
 “ and

"and contrived for the Benefit and Advantage of Men. In which his
 "meaning is so untowardly exprest, that you cannot but think
 "he was indisposed, when he wrote so untowardly. He hath
 "altered this Passage I hear in the (a) Se- (a) *The Reader is desired*
 "cond Edition; but so it is as I have reci- *here to observe, That*
 "ted it in that which he sent me at its first *though he printed this*
 "coming out; and indeed that very Paren- *Sermon a Second time,*
 "thesis in the first part of the Sermon (till *yet the Second Edition is*
 "I better informed) shews he was in too *not noted in the Title*
 "great haste at least when he compos'd it, *Page.*
 "else he would never have adventured to de-
 "liver his Opinion in a matter of such Mo-
 "ment, till he had been better informed of its Truth. — I do
 "not write this out of any Change there is in my mind concern-
 "ing Persons or Things, having the very same Thoughts I had
 "when you and I conversed more frequently together, but the
 "lamentable Case of Things. — I cannot but have a love to
 "Dr. Tillotson's Person, though I have none for his Opinion; I
 "therefore would gladly have him well treated, though he be ne-
 "ver so sharply reprov'd. This with more will be produced un-
 "der Dr. Patrick's Hand, if there be Occasion; and he afterwards
 "confirmed it all to Dr. Parker when they met at London, and said
 "that he ought to give Satisfaction by a Retraction, or else be ex-
 "posed. — *If he will not be reduced he ought to have no mercy, but to be*
 "*hunted out of the Christian Church, when he will not own it.*

And then as for the Dissenters to whom this Passage was
 no less offensive, as our Preacher saith, That
 (b) he had a just Value, and due Tenderneſs for them: (b) P. II:
 So he must give me leave to add on this Occasion,

That his Tenderneſs for them was much greater than for those of
 the Church; for he made them Satisfaction for the Scandal this
 Passage gave them, but would never do any Thing to remove the
 Offence which he gave his Brethren of the Church. I came to
 know this Secret by an honourable Person of my Acquaintance,
 who happening to give Dr. Cox a Visit, presently after Dr. Stilling-
 fleet had published his Sermon of *the Mischief of Separation*, found
 Mr. Baxter at his House vehemently inveighing both against it,
 and him. This gave occasion to that Gentleman to ask him, why
 he was so severe upon that Sermon, and the Author of it; and
 yet took no notice of another which was newly come out, and
 which he thought had given the Men of his Party as much offence

as it did to those of the Church of England? What Sermon is that? said Mr. Baxter. It is the Dean of *Canterbury's* Court Sermon, saith he; wherein he tells you, That you *must not affront the Established Religion, nor openly draw Men off from the Profession of it.* Oh! replied Mr. Baxter, he gave us great Offence indeed; but he hath cried *Peccavi*, and made us Satisfaction; but your other Dean is a proud haughty Man, that will retract nothing. The Gentleman having finished his Visit, took leave of the Doctor, and Mr. Baxter; and the same day called upon the Dean of *Paul's*, to give him an Account of what had passed betwixt him and Mr. Baxter, and finding the Dean of *Canterbury* with him, told the Story to them both. Upon which the Dean of *Paul's* asked the Dean of *Canterbury*, And did you in good earnest cry *Peccavi* to Mr. Baxter? *Fish*, replied he, will you mind what Mr. Baxter saith? But the Dean of *Paul's* not being satisfied with that evasive Answer, pressed him to a categorical Answer; upon which, his Countenance altering, he went away in disorder without any Reply. I tell this Story on purpose to shew our Reverend Clergy of the Convocation what great Reason they have to Censure this Passage; because he would never make the Church Satisfaction for it, nor do any Thing that looked like Satisfaction; but on the contrary hath lately Reprinted it in the Third Volume of his Sermons. And I hope Dr. *Patrick*, who was formerly so justly offended at it, will now he hath taken an higher Character upon him, promote and propose the Censure of it in Convocation. The duty the Clergy owe the Church, and the honour of their own Order, requires them to Censure it; especially since it is so contrary to the Purport of their Ordination, and their Duty prescribed in it, both as Priests and Bishops. There they are told, That they are Messengers, Stewards, and Watchmen of the Lord; that they are not to leave the Sheep when the Wolf cometh; and that they are to be ready, with all faithful Diligence, to drive away and banish all strange Doctrines contrary to God's Word, as need and occasion shall require. More especially in the Consecration of Bishops, St. *Paul* is proposed as an Example to them, who are indeed the Successors of the Apostles, in the Epistle to be read on that Occasion. There he saith, *That he counted out his Life dear unto him so that he might finish his Ministry*; but this Man's Doctrine, who was his own Patern of Preaching, teacheth the Shepherds to fly when the Wolf cometh, and to stop the Course of their Ministry, when the Exercise of it without a Miracle will cost them their Lives. It is only

only in the Case of a Divine Commission, and Miracles to prove it, that according to him a Priest or Bishop is to abide all Hazards, or to expect extraordinary Assistance, and supernatural Supports in their Sufferings; contrary to the common Doctrine of Christianity, and that in particular of the Church of England, which teacheth us that God in suffering Times will give his faithful People suffering Spirits: And likewise to the Histories of all Persecutions since Miracles ceased, and more especially to our own Martyrology in Queen Mary's Reign.

His Encomiast * tells us, That he was little disposed to * P. 17, follow the Pattern of Preaching which former Times set, but that he set a Pattern to himself. And from these Instances I have brought, we may see the Truth of what he saith: For the Hookers, the Sandersons, and Hamonds, and Pearsons, before him, never set such Patterns of Preaching, as he set himself; but such a one it is, That I hope it will neither be long, nor much followed, though his Funeral Orator hopes it will.

I have exemplified above how contrary the Practice of this unblemished Hero hath been to his Principles and Doctrine, and more particularly to his genuin and orthodox Notion of the Nature of Religion; and I now proceed to shew that he hath not followed the generous and laudable Example of another Person, in the very Case in which he hath proposed it for Imitation. "It cannot be denied, nor am I much concerned to dissemble it (saith he "in his Funeral Sermon on Dr. Whitchcot) that here he possessed "another Man's Place, who by the Iniquity of the Times was "wrongfully ejected: I mean Dr. Collins, the famous and learned "Divinity Professor of that University; during whose Life (and "he lived many Years after) by the free Consent of the College, "there were two Shares out of the common Dividend allotted to the "Provost, one whereof was constantly paid to Dr. Collins, as if he had "been still Provost. To this Dr. Whitchcot did not only give his "Consent (without which the Thing could not have been done) "but was very forward in the doing of it; though hereby he did "not only considerably lessen his own Profit, but likewise incur "no small Censure and Hazard, as Times then were. And "lest this had not been Kindness enough to that worthy Person, "whose Place he possessed, in his last Will he left to his Son, "Sir John Collins a Legacy of an hundred Pounds.

One would think that such an heroic Virtue should have followed such a generous Example of his own proposing; but as Dr. Whitch-

not had Dr. Collins's Place, so he had Dr. Gunning's Fellowship at the same Time, and never allowed him one Farthing; though he was as wrongfully ejected as Dr. Collins, and stood in more need of an Allowance than the Doctor did. But there is one Thing more to be said for the Honour of Dr. Whitcomb which he took no notice of, and it is this, That he had Dr. Collins's Consent to take his Place, which he himself had not from Dr. Gunning to take his; and yet he was very angry at him for refusing his Fellowship from him at the Restauration. This would pass for a Blemish in any other Man's Life, but Dr. Tillotson's; or if it would not, methinks his taking the Archbishop's Place, not only without but against his Consent, should pass for a Blemish in his Life: He having not only got him extruded by Force out of it, but thereby made himself the Author and Architect of a most scandalous and outrageous Schism; which will not only be an everlasting Blot upon his Memory, but if not healed an everlasting Blemish upon the Church. Methinks he might have so far followed Dr. Whitcomb's Example, and to have made him an offer of some Allowance, though he had refused it, as I am sure he would have done: But far from doing that, he behaved himself towards him with the greatest Inhumanity; as appeared from expressing his Joy unawares to Dr. Beveridge, for the glorious Device of the Writ of Intrusion, thinking the Doctor had come to talk with him as one that had excepted the Bishoprick of Wells; but when he found that he came to excuse himself from the Acceptance of it, he turned Pale upon reflecting he had discovered too much. He also suffered his Grace's Steward and Nephew, Mr. Saucroft, who kept Possession at Lambeth for his Uncle, to be Imprisoned and Fined, though he might have prevented both if he would; and yet left him not a Legacy for reparation of his great Fine, as Dr. Whitcomb did to Sir John Collins, though he had all the Fruits and Profits of the Archbishoprick, from the time of the Deprivation to the time that he took Possession thereof. And it is further observable, That as he enjoyed the Place of one, who was deprived by those who had usurped the Authority of Charles the First, and that of another, but of vaster Consequence, who was deprived by the Power of those who had first deprived K. James the Second; so he took the Place of a third, a Minister in Suffolk, who was Legally ejected by the Bartholemew Act, upon the Return of Charles the Second: Which shews, That he was a Man of all Times, and all Governments, Right or Wrong; and which in truth makes him look more like a Vicar of Bray, than an Heroe.

Heroe in Virtue, and will in most Mens Opinion take him down from that tall Character into an ordinary Man. But to return again to Dr. Whitaker's Funeral Sermon; there is another Passage in it, which all the Men I ever spoke with, that heard or read it, took for a Reflection upon the Church of England, in the following Words: *He disclaimed Popery, and, as Things of near affinity with it, Superstition and Usurpation upon the Consciences of Men.* I know one Clergy-man who had a fair Respect for him before, that from this time would never defend his Reputation: And the most learned Mr. Dodwel, who indeed is a great Example of heroick Piety and Vertue, was much offended with this Passage, and went on purpose to him to let him know what just Offence he had given by it; but notwithstanding he printed it again in his Third Volume of Sermons, with the Reflection in the *Israel* Character; which further proves what I said before, That how tender soever he was to the Dissenters, and extensive in his Charity to them, he had not such tenderness for true Church-men, nor such a Loathsomeness to offend these as those.

I now come to the Character of Orthodoxy which our Preacher gives of him, in telling us of the (a) convincing Arguments by which he so clearly proved the Truth and (a) P. 2. Excellency of our holy Faith; and in the (b) Character (b) P. 7. of St. Paul, whom he makes his Exemplar, he insinuates his great Concern for the Truth and Honour of the Christian Religion, and more particularly that he asserted the great (c) Mystery of the Trinity, when he was distressed by some, and provoked by others to do it, with (c) P. 31. that Strength and Clearness which was peculiar to him. As to the first, I thought the Torments of Hell, as well as the Joys of Heaven, had been part of our holy Faith; and taught as plainly by Christ, the great Doctor of his Church; and also as much implied in the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and the last Judgment: But how convincingly he hath proved the Truth of them appears from what I have said above. And as to his great Concern for the Truth and Honour for the Christian Religion, that appears in the same manner, by his Apostacy in his Practice from that true and honourable Character he gave of it in his Fifth of November Sermon; and as for the Strength and Clearness with which he hath proved the Mystery of the Trinity, I refer the Reader to the Book in

Entitled, The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson consider'd in Ex- the Margent, which I hope will
amination of some Sermons he hath see the light before these Dis-
lately published to clear himself from courses of mine. There he will
that Imputation, by way of Dialogue. find that his Vindication of him-
To which are added some Reflections self is but a shuffling Vindica-
upon the Second of Dr. Burnet's Dis- tion, which hath much of *Arian*
courses delivered to the Clergy of Sa- Cunning and Reserve in it: And
rum, concerning the Divinity and that he never departed from his
Death of Christ, with a Supplement. Moderation in this point, as our
 Author saith he did not in ano-
 ther.

To this I shall add in the next place what he hath said of the
 heinousness of the Sin of Perjury, in his Affize Sermon upon Heb. 6. 16.
 But I shall not insist upon the Application of it, as of some former
 Passages, because it will apply it self; nor make some severe and
 dangerous Reflections upon his heroical Piety, because they are so ob-
 vious, that the Reader may make them himself. "There, be faith,
 "that all departure from the Simplicity of an Oath is Perjury, and
 "that a Man is never a whit the less forsworn, because his Perjury
 "is a little finer, and more artificial than ordinary. That he is guilty
 "of Perjury, who having a real Intention when he swears to per-
 "form what he promiseth, yet afterwards neglects to do it; not
 "for want of Power, but for want of Will, and due Regard to his
 "Oath. That the primary and sole Intention of the Third Com-
 "mandment, is to forbid the great Sin of Perjury; and that it is
 "observable, That there is no Threatning added to any other
 "Commandment, but to this and the Second; which intimates
 "to us, that next to Idolatry, and the Worship of a false God,
 "Perjury is one of the greatest Affronts that can be offered to the
 "Divine Majesty. — This is one of those Sins that cries aloud to
 "Heaven, and quickens the pace of God's Judgments. — This Sin,
 "by the Secret Judgment of God, undermines Estates and Fami-
 "lies, to the utter ruin of them; and among the Heathens it was
 "always reckoned one of the greatest Crimes, and which they did
 "believe God did not only punish upon the guilty Person himself,
 "but many times upon whole Nations, as the Prophet also tells
 "us, That *because of Oaths the Land mourns*. I need not use many
 "Words to aggravate this Sin; It is certainly a Crime of the
 "highest Nature, deliberate Perjury being directly against a Man's
 "knowledge; so that no Man can commit it without staring his
 "Conscience in the Face, which is one of the greatest Aggrava-
 "tions

" tions of any Crime ; and it is equally a Sin against both Tables,
 " being the highest Affront to God, and of most injurious Conse-
 " quence to Men. — In respect of Men, it is not only a Wrong
 " to this or that particular Person, who suffers by it ; but *Treason* to
 " *human Society*, subverting at once the Foundations of publick
 " Peace and Justice.

This is just what our suffering Clergy and People say of Perjury,
 and in consequence of it for their own Vindication. Indeed they
 suffer like Men of *heroick Piety*, because they could not outstare their
 Consciences, as some other Men did ; and in their Opinion, which
 they have so nobly defended, commit Treason against Mankind,
 and the King. Dr. *Sherlock* told the Bishop of *Killmore*, *He would be*
sacrificed before he took the new Oath of Allegiance : And Dr. *Dove* said,
He would give a Thousand Pound that he might not take it ; such Strug-
 gles they had to overcome the Dictates of their own Consciences,
 which preached unto them the heinous Nature of Perjury : And
 if those, who took that Oath with so much Difficulty, would but
 remember their own Case, they would have more Compassion for
 those who could not take it at all ; more especially had that Tender-
 ness, which our Preacher saith his Heroe of Piety had for the Dis-
 senters been genuin, and the undesign'd Effect of his tender and
 extensive Charity, he would have been as tender and compas-
 sionate to the Dissenters in this Reign, as to those of the two former.
 It was fear of Perjury, the most heinous Sin of Perjury, against
 which he preached so well, that made them stand out ; and if
 they are under a Mistake, he ought to have pitied and sympathiz'd
 with them more than other Men. Nay, upon reading this excellent
 Passage against Perjury, one would think he should have had more
 Tenderness and Pity for them than for the dissenting Parties ; but
 instead of that, he was an early and vigorous Persecutor of them,
 and so continued to his last Stroke ; though they had defended
 their Cause much better than the Dissenters were, or ever will be,
 able to defend theirs. The Sunday after the First of *February*, the
 day of Deprivation, some of the Non-swearing Clergy preached
 in their Churches, as I remember Dr. *Sherlock* was one ; and on
 Monday Morning following one of my Acquaintance going to this
 Man about some Business, he inveighed severely against their Pre-
 sumption, and said, *Government was not to be so affronted*. At *St. Lau-*
rence, where he lies buried, he preached often against them ;
 twice more especially, at the beginning of Two several Sessions of
 Parliament, and by degrees forgetting what he had preached against
 the

the heinous Sin of Perjury. He thought Prisons, and all the hard Usages of them, which in former Reigns he was wont to call unchristian and inhuman Methods of converting Men, not too bad for the best of them. When others sometimes would pity them for being deprived, and also dragoon'd by the new way of double Taxing, he would say, They brought their Sufferings upon themselves; and which was yet more inhuman, he endeavoured to rob them of the Glory of their suffering for Conscience, and to bring yet more Sufferings upon them: As if indeed they had been what Mr. Dolben called them at the Sessions in Northampton, *The Vermin of the Nation which ought to be destroyed.* Yet our

(a) P. 26. Preacher saith, That (a) he had a Sweetness and Gentleness in his Nature that lean'd to Excess, and that he never did an ill Office, or hard Thing, to any Person; whereas in his Thanksgiving Sermon at Whitehall for the Victory at Sea, he represents his old suffering Brethren only as *Pretenders to Conscience*, and in his sly way insinuates, that the most likely and effectual way to reduce them, was to load them yet with more Sufferings. Saith he, *As bad an Argument as Success is of a good Cause, I am sorry to say it, but am afraid it is true; it is like in the Conclusion to prove the best Argument of all others to convince those, who have so long pretended Conscience against submission to the present Government.* One such Intimation at Court against the Dissenters, and such a Character of them, in the former Reigns, would have been said to have proceeded from an unchristian Spirit of Persecution; but for fear one Insinuation should not have been enough against our present Sufferers, in the next Paragraph he saith it over again in other Words to the same purpose. *After Success is certainly one of the worst Arguments in the World of a good Cause, and the most improper to satisfy Conscience; and yet we find by Experience that in the Issue it is the most successful of all other Arguments, and doth in a very odd, but effectual way, satisfy the Consciences of a great many Men, by shewing them their Interests; which is the true Purport, Intent, and English of that Latin Sentence of his dear Friend the Master of the Charter-house, whom he made Clerk of the Closet in the Dedication of his Archaeologia to K. W. Ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat ex nimia Caesaris Clementia Oramus supplices.*

From hence I proceed to make some Animadversions upon some Sayings of our Preacher, concerning his Heroe, which

(b) P. 29. lie scatter'd about his Funeral Sermon: (b) He tells us he never affected pompous Severities, by which we know very

very well he means the Austerities of Fasting and Abstinence, which the Church not only recommends but enjoins, and that (a) he complied with the ill Practice of having *Parades* in the former Reigns, because it was common; and (b) intimates also plain enough, That (b) P. 27. the ill Usage he met with by those Reflections which he describes as Calumnies and Reproaches, help to break his Heart. But now, for God's sake, how doth the Character of *heroick Piety* agree to a Man that practised no Austerities, and that complied for his Advantage with the corrupt Customs of the Times? For *heroick* is always severe Piety, and full of Self-denial, and addicted to observe the whole Rules and Doctrines of Mortification, especially those that are prescribed by the Wisdom of the Church; and it never complies with, but resists the prevailing Corruptions of the Times; like *Abraham* in *Chaldea*, *Lot* in *Sodom*, or *Daniel* in *Babylon*. And with what Congruity did he set him forth for an Example of *heroick Virtue*, who had so little Christian Courage, or support from his own Innocency, as to sink under the Calumnies of Men, which *Cato*, and *Socrates*, and a Thousand brave Heathen Heroes, would have despised? Certainly this Character of *heroick Piety* and *Virtue* agrees much better with the deprived Clergy, who are Men generally speaking of more austere Lives; and bear not only Calumnies, and Reproaches, and cruel Mockings, but the Loss of all they had with exemplary Patience, Courage, and Resignation to the Will of God, by which they are conformed in their Sufferings to those *Mortifications* which the Apostle proposes for our Imitation in the 11th Chapter of his Epistle to the *Hebrews*; and deserve now to be revered by all good Christians as *Confessors*, who dare be Honest and Poor; and prefer the Truth and Honour of their Religion, before the Lands and Revenues of the Church. More particularly it agrees much better with the late Archbishop Dr. *Satterst*, upon whom our Preacher thinks he hardly couched a Reflection, when he told us that his Heroic who intuded upon him did not affect *pompous Austerities*. Indeed he practised them, but without Poins, or Ostentation. And as for his Sufferings of all Sorts, both in these and former Times, he bore them with exemplary Courage and Chearfulness. They had no influence on his Health, but quite contrary. He blessed God for them; and told my Lord N. when his Lordship went to *Lambeth*

be to try his Constancy, That he had rather suffer any Persecution under a Lawful Prince than be preferred under an Usurper.

(a) P. 28.

He tells us again, (a) *That few Men observed but man Nature better than his Hero, or could make larger Allowance for the Frailty of Mankind than he did:* And so it appears from the Character he gave his Master, in his Thanksgiving Sermon for the Victory at Sea. There he saith, *That he was a Prince who hath made it the great Study and Endeavour of his Life to imitate the Divine Perfections, as far as the Imperfection of human Nature in this mortal State would admit:* Before I make any other Reflection upon this Passage, I must here tell the World, That in the former Reigns no Man could less endure any Thing spoken in the Pulpit, though never so modestly and correctly in the Praises of our Kings. It was his common Practice to censure it in others on all Occasions, and to say, *That Flattery was so mean and despicable a Thing in it self; and favour'd so strong of Interest and Design in the Pulpit, that Clergy-men ought to avoid all appearance of it:* And yet behold how shamefully he

(b) *See the Remarks upon some late Sermons.*

flatters his King here, and I doubt not (b) but it is owing to the ill Example he let the Clergy in this, and some former Sermons, that we have had of late so many fullon and despicable Sermons of Flattery, as no Age ever saw, or will I hope see again.

But this of his *Prince's imitating the Divine Perfections* is the highest Strain of all; and shews with a Witness what large Allowances he made for the Frailties and Imperfections of Men. For at this rate Abolishing and Abusing of Episcopacy, making War in the most

(c) *Hofes hi sunt qui Nobis, aut quibus nos publice Bellum Decevimus. Cateri Latrones, aut praedones sunt. F. de v. 1.*

(c) *the* with and predonical Manner, without first demanding Reparation; flandering and robbing of Parents, massacring in cold Blood, Adultery, or if there be any Thing worse than these may pass

among Divines for human Frailties, and the worst of Sinners with those Allowances for the best sort of Saints.

(d) P. 19, 30

He tells us (d) of the great Concourse of the Clergy-men to his Lecture, which made People consider him as the Head.

Head of that Learned Body. But the Concourse of the Clergy to that Lecture hath continued since, and yet no Man looks on the ingenious Person that succeeds him, as the Head of them: And how far he was considered from being the Head of the Clergy, did appear in the Convocation, where, to his great Disappointment, and the Astonishment of our Preacher, another was chosen Prolocutor, who for Learning and Orthodoxy was much fitter for the Chair than he.

He tells us also, (a) That he turned the greatest Part (a) P. 18. of this vast City to an hearty Love of the Church: So that all the rest of the London Clergy turned not half so many to the Love of the Church as he alone did. But I could name some of them, who turn'd Two for his One to an hearty Love of it; and to such an hearty Love of it, as they endured Persecution for adhering to it. But as for his Converts to the Church they were, generally speaking, but imperfect Conformists to the Church; such as did not live in the full or sole Communion of it, and such as rather bore with it than lov'd it; because he preached and perswaded them to it as a tolerable, but not as a laudable and excellent Constitution. And hence it came to pass that so many of them did not love the Worship of it, with a Love of Delight and Complacency, which is the Love of the Heart; but were content to use it for want of better, as the common Proverb saith of nice and curious Palats, That they can make a Shift with brown Bread, till they can get white. I have known many of his constant Followers, and have found by Experience what it say to be true, and I appeal to the Clergy of London, if they have not made the same Observation; and particularly I knew one venerable Clergy-man, now with God, to whom one of his and our Preacher's Admirers too, I mean my Lord Russel, made no difficulty to acknowledge, That he took not such Delight in the Common Prayers, as others; and had rather have had others in his Chappel, if he might, than those.

He also tells us, That he had a *superiour Judgment to most Men*: But how doth that appear from one whole Sermon, and some Passages out of others, which I have observed? Had he not been so unhappy, as to set himself his own Pattern, but followed

Some Patterns of former Times, particularly the Judicious *Sunderfon's*, he had never preached so many dangerous, false, and inconsiderate Things; nor given *Dr. Sherlock* when he preached against his Sermon of Hell Torments at *St. Dunstan's* occasion to say, That he had no cause to think himself a greater Master of Reason than other Men, or that he had more of it than they. And that he was not always attended with this superiour Judgment even in his most deliberate Compositions;

(a) P. 103. appears from a Passage in his (a) Third Sermon of Education, where he saith, *That the Duty of nursing Children, being a natural Duty of Women, is of more necessary and indispensable Obligation, than any positive Precept of Religion.* Good God! Is it of more necessary and indispensable Obligation than to believe in Christ, which is but a positive Duty? Or is the Neglect of it in a Mother, that hath no Excuse for neglecting of it, a more crying Sin than to live in the constant Neglect of the Sacrament, or Profanation of the Lord's Day, or utter Contempt of the Ministry, or to run into wilful Heresy

(b) P. 14. and Schism? Our Preacher also (b) tell us, That we shall have more Essays of his Preaching, but I hope we shall have no more such Essays of his superiour Judgment; but unless some Judgment superior to his review them after him, I fear we shall have more: Although we are told, That

(c) P. 25. (c) he was reviewing them at his Minutes of leisure, and given them his last Touches.

(d) P. 22. He tells, (d) That he rejoiced in our happy Deliverance, and observed the amazing Steps of Providence in it. So did his Uncle *Cromwel* too; and will you hear him speak upon this Subject of Providence in his Declaration, which he put forth in his own, and his Council of Officers Names, after they had turned the Commons out of Doors, the 23 of April;

(e) *Flagellum*, 1653. — “(e) Nor to mind in this Declaration the various Dispensations through which Divine Providence has led us, or the witness the Lord hath born, and the many signal Testimonies of Acceptance which he hath given to the sincere Endeavours of his most unworthy Servants. — After it had pleased God not only to reduce *Ireland*, and
“ give

O. Cromwel,

Printed for L.

R. 1663.

p. 138.

"give in *Scotland*, but so marvelously to appear for the People
 "at *Worcester* — but on the contrary, there more and more ap-
 "peared among them [*the Parliament so called*] an Aversion to
 "the Things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to
 "the People of God, and *his Spirit working in them.* ---- Lest this
 "Cause, which *the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witness to,*
 "should languish under our hands. ---- It seemeth to be a Duty
 "incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of *the Power and Pre-*
 "sence of God going along with us ---- That as we have been led by
 "Necessity and Providence to act as we have done, even beyond and
 "above our own Thoughts and Desires; so we shall, and do, in
 "that of this great Work which is behind, put our selves wholly
 "upon the Lord for a Blessing. ---- That all Men, as they would not
 "provoke the Lord to their own Destruction, would wait for such
 "an Issue as he shall bring forth. ---- And to know that the late
 "great and glorious Dispensations, wherein the Lord hath so wonderfully
 "appeared in bringing forth these Things, by the Travel and Blood of
 "his Children, ought to oblige them. — We see by this Ex-
 tract out of Cromwel's Declaration, how great and stupendious
 Steps of Providence went along with him in all his Enterprizes;
 and what a Series of Successes attended him in his most execrable
 Undertakings. And therefore I hope we shall hear no more of the
 amazing Steps of Providence, which were observable in the late Re-
 volution, since that Usurper saith, he was led by Providence to act
 beyond and above his Thoughts and Desires. And all this shews,
 That as Divines say we must try Miracles by Doctrines, as well as
 Doctrines by Miracles; so if we would not be led into fatal Mi-
 stakes, we must consider the Justice of any Cause, as well as the
 miraculous Providences that attend it: Since God, for our Tryal,
 suffers Providences and Successes equally stupendious to attend
 Causes, Good and Bad, as he makes the Sun to shine upon the Just
 and Unjust.

He saith, That their Majesties (a) made choice of him (a) P. 23.
 for the Archbishoprick, as the fittest Person; and I agree
 with him, That he was as fit a Person for that Turn, as they
 could have pitched upon. And further he tells us, That though
 he was unwilling to accept it, yet their persisting in their Intentions
 made him think it was the Call and Voice of God, and so he submitted.
 To which I shall say no more, but that in judging of a Call, we
 are to consider not only who Calls us, but to what we are Called.

and that Kings may call, and tempt, and importune us to commit deadly Sins, as well as other Men. Furthermore, by the Example of the Lord Protector *Cromwel*, we may see that when Kings call us, we are to consider well what kind of Kings they are ; or else we may sometimes be in danger to mistake the Temptations of the Devil, and our own wicked Hearts, for the *Call of God*.

He tell us also, (a) That he would speak with great Reserve of him, and so he hath. For how often was he wont to declare his Resolution, that he would never be a Bishop? I have often heard him admir'd upon the Account of that self denying Resolution, and also observed how venerable his Refusal of some Bishopricks would render his Name to Posterity. But when Men make such Resolutions, they make them it seems with a tacit Reserve to the persisting Call of a King. For I can name two Persons, now in the Places of deprived Bishops, and one of them to my certain knowledge, who vehemently declared against taking of the Places of any of the deprived Bishops : But I suppose *their Majesties* made choice of *them* too, as the fittest Persons; and that they looked upon their persisting in their Intentions as the Call and Voice of God, dispensing not only with their former most deliberate Resolutions, but also with all the Fundamental Laws of Ecclesiastical Unity to the contrary; the Examples of the best and purest Ages, and the Canons of the Church.

He also tells us, (b) That his first Education was (b) P. 10, II. among the *Puritans*, but of the best Sort; and that he was soon free'd from his first Impressions and Prejudices, or rather that he was never mastered with them: But I have reason to think that they were not the best sort of *Puritans*, under whom he had his first Education. First, Because his Father very early turned Anabaptist, which gave some Occasion to call his Baptism into question: And Secondly, Because the best sort of *Puritans*, as hath been often shewed, were far from the Principles of Resistance and Rebellion; but under whomsoever he had his first Education, he came seasoned to the University of *Cambridge* with those Principles. For not long after he came thither, King *Charles* the First was brought by *Cambridge* to *Hampton Court*, and Lodging at Sir *John Cuts* his House at *Childerly* near that University, the Scholars went thither to kiss his Hand: But he, and some few more, had so signaliz'd themselves for those they then called
Round-

Round-heads, that they were not admitted to that Honour with the rest of the Scholars. Within a Year or two after he went out *Midsummer-Bachelor of Arts*; by which, having locally qualified himself for a Fellowship, he got the *Rump's Mandamus* for Dr. *Gunning's*, (which I think one of his own Gang enjoyed a little before him) as a Reward for his good affection to the Cause. From that time to his discontinuance he governed the College; the Senior Fellows not daring to oppose him, because of the Interest he had with his great Masters: And so zealous was he for them, That the Corner of the College, which he and his Pupils took up in the new Building, was called the *Round-head Corner*. And when King *Charles the Second* was beaten at *Worcester*, he sent for the Tables in which the *College-Grace* was written, and after the Passage of Thanksgiving for their Benefactors, *Te Laudamus pro Benefactoribus nostris*, &c. he added with his own Hand, and of his own Head, *Præsertim pro nupera Victoria contra Carolum Stuartum in Agro Wigornienſi reportata*, or to that effect. In the Year 1656. or the Beginning of 1657. he discontinued from the College, being invited by *Prideaux*, *Cromwel's* Attorney General, to teach his Son, and do the Office of a Chaplain in his Family; and the Reader may please to take notice, That his Son was the same Mr. *Prideaux* who was in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Rebellion. I have related all this upon very good Authority, to shew that Dr. *Tillotson* had not his first Education under the best Puritans, and that he was not so soon free'd from the Prejudices and Impressions of it; but that hitherto he was perfectly master'd by them: And whether or no they had not some influence over him all his Life long, I leave the Reader, from what I have said of him in this Chapter, to judge.

He tell us again, (a) That though he was soon free'd (a) P. 11. from the first Prejudices of his Puritanical Education, yet he stuck to the *Strictness of Life* to which he was bred under them. This is one of our Preacher's side-wind Reflections upon the true Sons and Daughters of the Church of *England*; as if they were not wont to breed up their Children in as strict an Exercise of true Piety and Vertue, as the Puritans did.

He also saith, (b) That his extraordinary Worth forced (b) P. 20. some, who had no Kindness for him, to advance him: THE SOME he means is only King *Charles the Second*, who plainly perceived that he was not quite free'd from the Prejudices of his first Education.

Church of God. The good Lord of his Mercy deliver his Church from such admirable Primates and Bishops, as are Traytors to their own Order; and from such *tender Methods of Union, and pious Designs of serving the Church*, as they may without breach of Charity be supposed to have. Our Preacher, as well as his Heroe, may be numbred among those *pious Designers* for going to wait upon the Duke of Hamilton, when he was last in London, some days before he went for Scotland: He took upon him to tell his Grace; That he would ruin his Interest, if he did not stick fast to the Presbyterian Cause; for they began to fear that he was not for it to them. And thereupon he advised him, as he regarded his own Standing, and the *King's Favour*, to be sure to promote the *Presbyterian Interest*. This the Duke told to a Person of Honour before he left the Town. And now hear, O ye

*See the Pref. * Clements, Ignatius's, Polycarp's, Demy's, Irenaeus's, and before Bedel's Cyprians, of the Golden Age of the Church, was not this Apostolical Council in a Man that bears your Life.

holy Character? Could he do any Thing more unworthy of it, than to advise a Prince of his Country to support those, and stick to these, who have declared your Holy Order to be Antichristian, and abolished it as an Usurpation, and deposed your Successors, as much as in them lies, for Usurpers over the Church of God. Nay, let all Men that read this Story consider it a little in its just Consequences, and Reflections upon this wretched Man, as he is a Bishop, and a Bishop who formerly asserted the Office of a Bishop to be an Apostolical Institution. Read what he hath wrote for it in his Preface to Bishop Bedel's Life. It is not possible to think that a Government can be Criminal, under which the World received the Christian Religion, and that in a Course of many Ages; in which, as all the Corners of the Christian Church, so all the Parts of it, the Sound as well as the Unsound, that is, the Orthodox, as well as the Hereticks and Schismaticks, agreed. The Persecutions that then lay so heavy upon the Church, made it no desirable Thing for a Man to be exposed to their first Fury, which was always the Bishops Portion: And that in a Course of many Centuries; in which there was nothing but Poverty and Labour to be got by the Employment. There being no Prince's to set it on, as an Engin of Government; and no Synods of Clergy men gathered to assume that Authority to themselves, by joynt Designs and Endeavours. And.

And can it be imagined that in all that glorious Cloud of Witnesses to the Truth of the Christian Religion, — there should not so much as one single Person be found, on whom either a Love of Truth, or an Envy of the Advancement of others, prevailed so far as to declare against such an early and universal Corruption, if it is to be esteemed one? When all this is complicated together, it is really of so great Authority, that I loose not to give the proper Name to that Temper that can withstand so plain a Demonstration. For what can a Man even heated with all the Force of Imagination, and possessed with all the Sharpness of Prejudice, except to the Inference made from these Premises, That a Form so soon introduced, and so wonderfully blessed, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Gospel, and cannot be ascribed to any other Original, but that the Apostles every where established it as a Fence about the Gospel which they planted; so that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned Twins, born at the same Time, and both derived from the same Fathers? — Therefore it will perhaps be necessary, in order to the giving a fuller and amiable Prospect of that Apostolical Constitution, &c. And if it is an Apostolical Constitution, with what Face or Conscience could he solicit the Duke of Hamilton to adhere to those who declare it to be a Diabolical and Antichristian Usurpation? But if it is not, and by consequence not an Institution of unalterable Right, Why do we continue in? Why is the Church troubled with two Orders of Priesthood when one would serve? It hath cost this Nation much Blood and Treasure to support it. The Earl of Strafford might have had his Life, if he would have bought it at so dear a Rate, as to persuade King Charles the First to consent to the Abolishing of it: That blessed Prince died a Martyr for it: And our Primate of everlasting Memory, Archbishop Laud, was sacrificed for it. And yet, alas! it is now abolished in one Kingdom, and disgraced and polluted with Schism in the other two: And the very Foundation of it hath been and is still an undermining under the popular Pretences of tender Methods and pious Designs. Let the Observation of the Lord's Day, Infant Baptism, the Two Sacraments, the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which stand upon the same bottom, be all treated away with it. To dis-
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pence with those, as well as with this, will make the Union yet more Glorious and Comprehensive, and more worthy of the pious Undertakers. For I know no Reason why the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, and *Socinians*, should not also be taken in: But as to my own particular, I must here declare, That I am for pure Catholick and unmixt Communion; and if after this designed Comprehension of the Sects, there is to be found but One such Church of Two or Three, in what corner of the Land soever, I will join myself to that.

CHAP. III.

HAVING shewed in the first Chapter, that although the Character which Dr. *Burnet* hath given of Dr. *Tillotson* were true, yet it is not to be believed upon his Authority; and having also shewed, by many Instances in the second, that it was not a true and just Character of him, but much above his Merits: I now proceed in this, according to the Method mentioned in the Introduction, to animadvert upon several other Passages in his Funeral Sermon, which I think my Undertaking obliges me not to pass over without some Remarks. I shall begin

with that strange Expression which he useth of
(a) P. 7. the Apostle, who (a) he saith *had large Thoughts concerning the Idol Feasts, and Meats offered to Idols.*

As this is a crude and indecent way of Speaking of an Apostle, so it is groundless and false; he having stated the Case of Idol Feasts, and of Eating of Meats, and Drinking of Drinks, that have been offered up in Sacrifice to Idols, with all the *Strictness* that the Nature of them required. For first, as to the Idol Feasts, or of Eating and Drinking at the Feasts in the Heathen Temples, which were joyned to the Sacrifices offered unto Idols, he determines it to be unlawful in a two fold Respect. First, with

(b) 1 Cor. 10. respect to the Substance of the Action, as it
20, 21. as it was (b) *Demonstraty*, or worshipping of Devils, and holding Communion with them; which

which therefore provoked the Lord to Jealousie, when those who drank his Cup, would drink the Cup of Devils; and partakers of his Table, would also partake of the Tables of Devils. Secondly, he determines it to be unlawful with respect to the circumstance, or consequence of the action, because those pretenders to knowledge among the Christians, who frequented Idol-Feasts, did not only confirm the Gentiles in their Idolatry, and harden the Jews in their unbelief, but **¶** also by their contagious Examples drew the weaker Christians to pollute themselves with Demonolatry, or Communion with Devils, and so were answerable to God, for causing their Brethren to perish, for whom Christ died. And now let any serious man consider this determination of the Apostle against Christians going to Idol Temples to eat at Idol Feasts, either with respect to the *substance*, or *Circumstance* of the thing, and then let him tell me if it is not as strict, and free from *latitude*, or *largeness of thought*, as the Doctrine of worshipping the one true God, and having no other Gods but him. ¶ 1 Cor. VIII. v. 9, 10, 11, 12.

The like strictness we shall also find in determining the case of Christians eating of meats, which had been offered unto Idolls at their own, or at their unbelieving Friends Houses: For it seems part of the Sacrifices which had been offered unto Idolls were often sold to the *Butchers* by the *Idol-Priests*; from which arose two questions among the Christians of these times, one whereof was, whether they ought to eat what was bought in the Shambles at their own Houses? Because what they eat might perhaps have been such portions of the Sacrifices as the Idol Priests had sold to the Butchers; and the other was whether they ought to eat at their unconverted Friends, or Relations Houses of every thing that was set before them without asking if it had been any part of those Sacrifices which had been offered unto Idolls? The particular reason of this later question was, as I conceive, because the Gentiles esteemed those portions of Idol Sacrifices, as more holy, than common flesh, and would be sure to buy them for their Feasts and Entertainment if they could get them. To these two questions the Apostle answers in general; that it was lawful for them to enjoy any of God's Creatures, none of them being in their own nature impure, and that therefore they might safely eat whatsoever was sold in the Market without thinking themselves bound in conscience to enquire whether any thing they met with in the

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Shambles, or were to eat at their own, or their Friends Houses, were portions of Idol Sacrifices, or no? But then if any man told them, that such, and such meats had been offered unto Idols, then they were neither to buy them in the Market, nor eat of them at

their own, or at their Friends Houses for fear of giving* offence to others, whether *Believers* or *Unbelievers*. First to *Believers* especially of the weaker sort, who seeing them buy, or eat, what they had been told was offer'd unto Idols, might from the former relation those portions had unto the Idol, think they worshipped the Idol, and so be encourag'd to eat against their Consciences, and perhaps proceed further to eat at the *Idol Feasts*, which was downright Idolatry. Secondly, To *Unbelievers*, Jews or Gentiles; the former whereof coming to know that Christians bought, or eat what had been offered unto Idols, would be scandalized thereby against Christianity; and the later in like manner seeing them do so, would be encourag'd to persist in their Demonolatry, because they might presume that the Christians buying, or eating wittingly, and willingly what had been offered up in Sacrifice to their Gods, did so out of respect to them, as they themselves did. I think this was very strict Divinity to forbid Christians the use, and enjoyment of those things, which otherwise they were free to use, and enjoy both at home, and abroad, purely upon the account of other mens Consciences, because they were to give no offence neither to the unbelieving Jew, nor to the Idolatrous Gentiles, nor to the weaker Members of the Church of God. Had our Preacher lived in those days, I am afraid he would have censured the Apostle, as a man of *narrow thoughts*, who was too much influenced by Jewish notions, and superstition in these severe determinations, but because he was to make a Parallel between the Apostle, and his *Latitudinarian* Hero, therefore right, or wrong he was to take some occasion to let us know, that the Apostle had his *large thoughts* too.

Another of his Phrases, which he chose rather to use improperly, than to omit, is that of the † *just freedoms of Human Nature*, where he tells us, that his Heroick Primate asserted the great Truths of Religion, when he saw them struck at, with an authority, and zeal proportioned to the importance of them, while in lesser matters he left men to the just freedoms of Human Nature—but he should have said, had he spoke properly,

to their *Christian Liberty*, for the *freedoms of Human Nature* relate to men, as they are considered in a civil, or in their *natural state*, if there ever had been, or were any such. But this being one of the golden Phrases of the *Latitudinarians*, he was resolved to tip his Tongue, and gild one Period with it, for that sort of men have their *Jargon*, and *Cant*, as well as others, and particularly affect to talk of the *Rights, Liberties, or Freedoms of Mankind*, or of the *Rights, Liberties, or Freedoms of Human Nature*, altho' every man in the World only hath such Rights, and such Liberties as the Laws and Customs of the Country, where he is born, or whither he betake himself give him, and no more. Hence the

* Roman Law defineth *Liberty* to be a *Natural Power, or Faculty, which every man hath to do what he pleaseth, as far, as he is not hindered by law or force.*

* *Inst. Lib. I. de jure personarum.*

This definition shews, that mens natural liberty is restrained more or less, according to the civil constitutions of different Countries, and this is so true, that in some places, the greatest part of Mankind have almost no Liberties; and Slaves which were the greatest part of Mankind in the *Roman Empire*, as now in some of our Plantations, had none at all. Yet notwithstanding this is so plain, and obvious a Notion, our *Latitudinarians*, when it serves their turn (as it did in former Reigns) love to talk of the Rights, and Liberties of Mankind, or Human Nature, because they are splendid Phrases, which by seeming to have something great in them, are apt to gull unthinking men, tho' they signify nothing at all. Tell them of *Passive Obedience*, or the unlawfulness of Resistance, they will tell you again, that it is a Doctrine against the Rights and Freedoms of Mankind. I knew a Gentleman, to whom an unfortunate Lord of our Preachers acquaintance said so, and we may without making a bold inference guess from whom he had the deceitful insignificant Phrase, which to serve ill purposes may be used against Laws and Constitutions, that restrain mens Liberties in civil Societies, in any other respect, as well as in not resisting the Supreme Power, and would help to justify insurrections not only of Slaves, but of Subjects, and more especially of the common People all the World over. So the Dispensing Power under King *James's* Administration was against the just freedoms of Human Nature, and the French Government was, and is against the Rights, and Liberties of Human Nature, though some Governments harder than it, and the exercise of them is not so in other places, where Protestants

testants, as Conscientious, and at least as Orthodox as those of France are ruined, and undone for Conscience sake, and as effectually Dragoon'd without Dragoons by Deprivation and double Taxes, of which I am confident our Preacher would say, if he suffered such Penalties, that they were against the Rights of Human Nature, and the Liberties of Mankind. But for my own part, as I always suspected such Specious Phrases, and those, who used them: so I know not to what purpose they serve, but to beget false notions in the minds of men, and incite them to subvert States, and Kingdoms, and level all Orders of Men in them, and I have always observed that those who used them, set up for *Demagogues*, and were most forward when it was in their power to invade other mens Rights, and abridge other mens Liberties, especially those of their lawful Kings, and their Loyal Fellow Subjects without any regard to the Laws of Nature, the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Land.

In the same place he tells us, *that while the Defunct asserted the great Truths of Religion, he left men in lesser matters to be governed by those great measures of Discretion, and Charity, a care to avoid Scandal, and to promote Edification, and Peace, and Decency, and Order.* This in an Author so given to subtle, and malicious insinuations, looks like one upon the generality of the Clergy, as if they did not so, but were more zealous for the lesser, than the greater matters of our Religion. But not to mention the Great men among our present Clergy, did not our *Hookers, Sandersons, and Hammonds*, as well as those, who have followed their example, assert the great Truths of Religion, as zealously, as his *Floer* did, and tho' they defended both the Authority, and Wisdom of the Church in enjoying Ceremonies, and things in themselves indifferent to be observed (which he means by lesser matters) and also took care to inform the Consciences of the People; what a great, and weighty Duty Obedience, and Submissions to the Orders of the Church was, and that morally considered, it was none of the lesser matters of Christianity: yet in their *just freedoms* they left them to be governed, as he saith his Archbishop did, *by the measures of Discretion and Charity, and a care to avoid Scandal, and to promote Edification, and Peace, and Decency, and Order.* But in Truth this Character of leaving men to their *Freedoms*, as Christians, was so very true of Doctor *Tillotson*, that he left them to their *Freedoms*, where neither he nor they were free, and to govern themselves by their own private Consciences

Consciences and discretion, when they neither promoted Charity, nor Edification, nor Peace, Decency, or Order, but gave scandal in both Senses, as it signifies grieving our fellow Christians, and by our Example occasioning others to sin. I will instance in his giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to those, who would receive it in no posture, but that irreverent one of *sitting*. This was his Practice at *Lincoln's-Inn Chappel*, whither a great Lady of Dr. *Owen's* Congregation, and one of *his* Hearers too, would sometimes resort to receive the Sacrament, because, as she told a Noble Lord of my acquaintance, she could receive it there *sitting*. And his Practice, as a devout Gentlewoman, who lived in that Neighbourhood, assured me, was first to walk about with the Elements to those in the Pews, where the Sitters were, and give it them first, but in the last place to those who kneel'd at the Rail, within which he would not go, as decency would have directed another Man, but coming behind them, he gave it them in the Letter of the Proverb, over the left Shoulder. So the late Bishop of *St. Asaph* at Dr. *Kidder's* Church not long after the Revolution gave Dr. *Bates*, and some others the *Sacrament* in the same irreverent posture, to the great offence of some part of the Congregation, that saw it; and for ought he knew, to the endangering of others to despise the Orders of the Church. I could give other instances of this nature in the other Sacrament of Baptism, wherein the defunct Hero, hath acted without excuse against the Churches Orders, to the great scandal of others who came to know it, and violating the prescribed Rules of Decency, and Edification, which I suppose come under our Preacher's lesser Matters, and when I consider how notoriously He, and his Hero have acted in other instances against Justice, Mercy, Faith, and Charity, I cannot tell what he esteems the great Truths and Duties of Christianity, or the weightier Matters of the Law.

But he * tells us however that his *UNBLEMISHED* * p. 15. *HERO* saw with a deep regret the fatal Corruptions of this Age, while the Hypocrisies and Extravagancies of former times disposed many to Atheism, and Impiety. But methinks he should have said nothing of the Hypocrisies, and Extravagancies of former Times, since they cannot but put men in mind of the Hypocrisies and Extravagancies of these, which for kind have been the same, and for degree, or *Atrocity*, as great as those, and have also as much disposed men to Atheism, and Impiety. Was it not rebelling under the Holy pretence of Religion? Was it not for taking God's Holy Name in vain in Fasts, and Thanksgivings to break his Holy Laws, and Judgements with a Popular shew of Sanctimony, that he means by the Hypocrisie of former Times, and have not the same things been done over again in these? And then as for the

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Extravagancies of those former Times, does he not mean by them the proceeding so far under those hypocritical Pretences, as first to rise up in Arms against *Charles the I.* then to abdicate him in the Vote of *Non addressees*, then to murder him before his own Palace, and last of all, to defend those *Extravagancies* under the same hypocritical Pretences, and magnifie those, who did them, as our Deliverers, to whom we owed the conservation of our Religion, Lives, and Liberties? And if this be his meaning, as in appearance it must, then I pray him to compare Times with Times, Facts with Facts, and Pretences with Pretences, and then to tell me, if as great Extravagancies have not been done in our days? And lastly, as to disposing men to Atheism, and Impiety, I appeal to the Consciences of all serious observing men, if what hath been done, *in, by, and since* the Revolution, call it by what name you please, hath not disposed many more to Atheism, and Impiety, than what he calls the Hypocrisies and Extravagancies of former Times.

I have heard that in one of his Visitation Speeches to the Clergy of *Wiltshire*, he complained of the *deluge of Atheism and Impiety that overflowed this Nation*, and would to God he would lay his hand upon his heart, and consider whether He, and his Hero, and his Hero's Successor, have not among some others helped to set open the Floodgates to that overflowing Deluge, by what they have done under the irreligious Pretence of serving, and preserving our Religion, by acting not only against the plainest Precepts of it, but the common notions of Justice, Truth, and Honesty, and their own former Doctrines, which now bear witness against them, and will hereafter without Repentance, rise up in Judgment against them, and condemn them, when our Lord shall say unto them, and every one that hath acted like them, *out of thy Mouth, out of thy Writings, will I condemn thee, thou wicked Servant*. In that day this will be the aggravation of their condemnation above the *Marshalls*, the *Calamies*, the *Owens*, and the *Goodwins* of former Times, that they acted the same Iniquities against their own avowed Doctrines, and Principles, and Subscriptions, whereby they had most publicly, frequently, and solemnly Anathematiz'd the Practices of those men, and I will take upon me to say, that for any one Athiest He, or his Hero converted before the Revolution, they have made ten since, and that if those men slew their thousands these have slain their ten thousands; and I pray God, He and some others, who have time of Repentance yet left them, may consider what I say before it is too late.

It is scarce worth my pains to examine what he hath said in the same page of the Design, that was laid (he means in the Reign of King *Charles the II.*) to make us first Athiests, that we might more easily be made Papists,

Papists, this seems to be an odd design, at least an odd way of expressing it, to make men Atheists, that they may more easily be made Papists, that is, first to bring them to believe no Religion, that they may believe the Popish, and teach them to laugh at the three Creeds that they might believe all the Articles of Pope *Pius* the IV. with all the supernumerary Traditions of the Roman Church. King *Charles* the II. indeed was not so careful as he should have been in the great Concern of Religion, but that was to be imputed also to the Hypocrisies, and Extravagancies of former Times, which did with his Father, as these have done with his Brother, but to suggest that he laid a Design to make men Papists, by first making of them Atheists, is as ridiculous as to say it now, when Atheism abounds much more than it did in his Reign. One may as reasonably say, that he laid a design to make us first Papists, that he might more easily make us Rebels, or Socinians, as our Preacher hath been long made. But if by making us Papists, he means outward Professors of Popery, I must tell him that King *Charles* the II. was too wise a Prince to think, that Atheists could ever be brought to that in such a Nation and Government as this, where no inquisition, or force sufficient to bring that about could be set up. For nothing less than a mighty force could make our Atheists submit to Popery, no, as they despise the special Doctrines of it, as much as any other men: So the liberties to which they are inur'd make them abhor, and detest it for the severity of its Discipline, which they know will not allow them to practise their lewdness so openly, to curse, damn, and blaspheme, to call the Priesthood Priestcraft, and to ridicule every thing that belongs to Religion, as they do now, and more than ever in the Houses of our King; therefore we saw them not long ago as averse to Popery, as other men, and associating under the common pretence of preserving our Religion with Enthusiasts, Hypocrites, and Apostates, nay with foreign mercenary Papists to drive a Sovereign Prince of that Communion, whose Title to the Crown depended not upon his Religion, out of all his Realms.

I now proceed to examine the Libel he hath so maliciously made upon our suffering Clergy, and more especially upon our ejected Bishops, where his want of Generosity, and Charity appears in every Article of it, tho' but six lines before he pretends to write every thing in his Sermon with an Air free from Resentment, but as I have shewed he writes many Falsehoods where he pretends to write strict Truths. So where he pretends to write generously with candour, and without resentment I always suspect there is something to follow of a quite different nature, and here I found, I was not disappointed. I could tell him of some of his Hearers, and those friends to the present Government who

that no man of Honour would have so treated men in affliction, as he did, and given such an unreasonable Testimony of an unmortified Temper in a Funeral Sermon, but let the Sermon be what it will, and let him pretend to write with never so much humanity, and sweetness, I will lay of Natures side against him, because his passions are so hard for him, that he cannot but shew his Nature, and mix his Choller with his Ink, when he should write without resentment as he hath done in this Libell with all the ill nature imaginable against the late Archbishop of venerable Memory, and the most worthy Bishop of Ely, whereof the former made him Doctor, when he could not make himself one, and the other as is still remembered in Cambridge, most generously entertained him in his Lodgings at St. John's Colledge, while he resided in that University to inspect Records especially at C. C. C. although at that time, he was in disgrace at Court, and almost every where else. And it is a further aggravation of his ill-nature, that because he had not, he took an occasion of making this Libel against them, and their suffering Brethren; for after he had told his Hearers that the Defunct rejoiced in the happy deliverance of these Nations, then without any necessity, or connexion he tells us, that many of those, who had long'd for it, and wisht well to it, did of a sudden start back. It is plain here that by his many, he means many of the deprived Clergy, but if by his happy deliverance he means, as I have shewed he must, our pretended deliverance by the Revolution, I challenge him to name one of them, who long'd for it, or wished well to it, for as many of those, who have complied, abhorred the thoughts of it: So of those, who have not complied, I know not one, but did, nor he neither I dare say. But then let us suppose that many of them long'd for the Prince of Orange's coming, and wished as well to it, as he himself did, might they not afterwards, nay were they not in Conscience bound, when they saw their error, and his design, to start back? What doth he mean by this Objection against them? Must men go on in what they think iniquity, and as one of the Bishops, who certainly long'd for the Revolution, said, *Over Shoes, over Boots.* Is this too a Maxim of our Preacher, would he have men proceed from longing for a thing they thought good, to favouring and upholding it, when they found it ill, and from wishing well to it under one persuasion, to acting for it under another? I believe he will make no difficulty to say that Dr. Sherlock was in a great error for two years together after the Revolution in refusing so long to close with it, and yet if he did well in closing at last with it, he ought not to be reproached for having stood out so long against it; although he said to some Persons of great honour, who consulted him for his Opinion about taking the New Oath, *That whoever took it would without repentance, as*
certainly

certainly burn in Hell-fire, as that fire, saith he, pointing to the Chimney, burns there, or to that effect. But besides him who stood out so long, it would be easie to name many more, who neither longed for it, nor wished well to it, that yet at last complied with it, and I hope he will not blame them for starting from their first Resolves, and coming in at the last hour of the day. For men are to be allowed the benefit of second Thoughts, and of Repentance, which often times is the blessed effect of long and serious Consideration; and when they turn Penitents by the Laws of Honour, as well as Christian Charity, their former faults are to be buried in Oblivion, and never to be mentioned with reproach. Hath the great Historian of our Reformation forgotten what the first Archbishop of it did through Human Frailty, and afterwards repenting, died a Martyr, and put his right hand first in the Flames, because that part of his Body should be first punished, which was first in fault.

But to give other instances of starting back nearer a kin to the matter in hand: In the Tragical Reign of *Stephen*, whom the Historians represent as a perjured Usurper, *Robert* the great Earl of *Gloucester* through fear, and surprize took the Oath of Homage with the other Nobles to King *Stephen*, but not long after with some other Lords took an opportunity to renounce it, and let the Usurper know by Word and Deed that he was ashamed, and repented of the Homage he had done unto him contrary to his Allegiance to Queen *Maud*; and the Historians of those Times were so far from reproaching him with his first compliances, that they have celebrated his Memory upon the score of his Repentance, and his constant Allegiance ever after to the Queen. In the Reign of *Louis* of *France*, whom the Barons set up in the room of King *John*, many Lords began to relent before he died, and many more after he was dead revolted from *Louis* their own Idol, crowned the young Prince *Henry* the III. and soon made the Usurper glad to compound for a safe conduct out of the Realm. In the Reign of *Henry* the IV. who, our Preacher saith in his History of the Reformation, traiterously Usurped the Crown, Archbishop *Scroop*, and many other Lords, who perhaps had longed for it, and for a while wished well to it, afterwards saw their error and repented, and being resolved to undo, as much as they could, what they had most unjustly done, they rose up against *Henry* under the Title of Lord *Henry Derby*, and put out a most remarkable Remonstrance against his Usurpation, and an Excommunication against him, which may be seen in *Foxe's Acts*, and Monuments of that Reign; and of which because it is so scarce to be had, I have put an abridgment in the * Appendix: and in the Reign of his Grandson *Henry* the VI. The whole Peerage

* N. VL

then

then assembled in a Parliament of that Prince's own calling, being made sensible of their error, and the injustice of their Ancestors in deposing *Richard* the II. and setting up *Henry* the IV. declared upon *Richard* Duke of *York's* Claim by Birth-right, and proximity of Blood; that his Title could not be defeated, but that the Crown of Right belonged to him: this with all that was done thereupon may be seen in *Roll. Parl.* 39. *Henry VI.* N. 10. as it is in *Cotton's* Abridgement put out by Mr. *Pryn*, or rather in the Record at large, as it is Printed in the

* *An Enquiry into the remarkable instances of History and Parliament Records used by the Author of the unreasonableness of a new Separation, whether they are faithfully cited and applied.*

31 page of the * Book mentioned in the Margent, and I mention it, because I think it, as well as the Book in which it is Printed, worthy to be read of all men. And what another Parliament 1 *Edw. IV.* declared against the Usurpation of the three *Henries* as against God's Law, Man's Allegiance, and unnatural in its self. I need not recite here, because it is to be seen in the Printed Statutes of that Reign. And in our Preachers former times of *Hypocrisie*, the Times of the great Rebellion, which began in 41: many Persons of Honour and Quality in both Kingdoms, who were concern'd in the Prologue, or first Scenes, or Acts of that bloody Tragedy, being afterwards convinced of their Errors, not only started back, and repented; but brought forth Fruits meet for such Repentance, and I need but name the Great *Montrose*, his Patron the *Duke of Lauderdale*, and Mr. *Henderson* of his own Country as Examples of what I say; and the two Heroick Penitents the Lords *Hopton* and *Capell* both of Immortal Memory in ours. The former of these Lords, as Report saith, went with a Rope about his Neck as a Token of his Repentance, to throw himself at the King's Feet, and how they both after repentance signaliz'd themselves in his service, and the Lord *Capell* in his Son's, is known so well, that I need not relate it. So *William Pryn*, not to mention all the Commissioners, who were sent to treat with the King at *Holmby-House* started back also, though it is to be wished they had done it sooner, and how severely he censured his old Actions, and endeavoured to undo what he had done, may be seen from what he hath written in his Plea for the Lords, his *Concordia Discors*, and a Paragraph or two, in his Preface

to *Cotton's* Abridgment which I have also put in the † Appen-
 † N. VI. dix. Nay the Members of that very Convention which called home *Charles* the II. were the men that began and carried on the Rebellion against his Father, and yet by God's Grace they started so far back, as to declare point blank against their former Practise, that by the undoubted, and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, nor the People collectively,

ly, nor representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever ever had, have, or ought to have any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm. And sometime before that, when the King was in his return, the Lords and Commons of that Convention, together with the Lord Mayor, Common Council-men, and Freemen of London, in a * Proclamation did declare, " That His Majesty's * Appen. N. VII.
 " Rights, and Titles to his Kingdoms were, every way compleat by the
 " death of his Royal Father without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a
 " Proclamation, and that the Imperial Crown of this Realm did by
 " inherent Birth-right descend to him, as next lineal, and rightful Heir
 " of the Blood Royal. Here are starters back with a wince, and I hope
 their starting back from a Cause in which they were so long engaged,
 was neither a reproach to them, nor an argument for the goodness,
 but the intollerable illness thereof. And so if any of our suffering
 Clergy did, as he affirms, long for the Revolution, and wish well to it,
 their starting back shews no more than that they were mislead in the
 Croud, and afterwards thought otherwise of it, than they did at the
 first. Therefore God is to be praised, and they commended that they
 started back so soon, and proceeded no further with reluctant consciences,
 as many others unhappily did. I could tell of one now in the
 highest place of the Church, who said sometime after the Revolution,
 said to this effect, That it was one entire piece of iniquity, and after
 that again in the plural Phrase, That *we*, and by consequence *he* had
 gone too far, and yet he goes on still, and I fear will not start back.
 Others I could name to their honour, who proceeded so far, as to take
 the Oath, and to comply for sometime after, but since, God be praised,
 have started back, and offered like true Penitents, to do penance, and
 begg'd Absolution for what they thought so grievous a sin, and now
 I have told it, let our Preacher make what he can of their starting back,
 but when Dr. Sherlock started from the other side, to which these men
 went back, I never heard that he had the least remorse for continuing
 so long in his great error, as he must acknowledge it to have been, much
 less that he was willing to do penance for it (besides the penance he
 did in Print) or desired the Absolution of the Church.

After this he proceeds to tell us, that *some in high Stations* (that is
 some Bishops) of the Church would neither openly declare for it, nor against
 it according to the authority of their Characters: one of which certainly they
 ought to have done: if they did then judge it so unlawful, as they would now
 represent it, they ought to have thunder'd both with their Sermons, and Cen-
 sures against it, especially in the first Fermentation, when a vigorous opposition
 might have had considerable effects, and would have made them look like
 Confessors indeed, to which they afterwards pretended. Here our Preacher
 reflects

reflects upon our suffering Fathers for not having declared, and acted against the Revolution betimes, and *thunders* against them for not having thundered with their Sermons and Censures against, in the first Fermentation, *i. e.* when the Mob were Masters in all places, and would have tore them in pieces for it, as some of them were threatned, and that indeed would have been a *considerable effect*. This puts me in mind of the Question he so often asked Mr. Napleton of *Feverham*, *Why did you not let the King go?* To which Mr. Napleton made answer the first time to this purpose, Sir, *We could not govern the Rabble, and if the King had offered to go, they would have torn him in pieces.* After some time the good Dr. asked Mr. Napleton again, *Why did you not let the King go?* I told you Sir, replied Mr. Napleton, *because the Rabble would have torn him in pieces, if he had offer'd to go.* And after that again, a third time, *Why did you not let the King go?* Sir, replied Mr. Napleton, with some emotion, *I have told you twice, because if he had offered to go, the Rabble would have murdered him;* Eigh, but Mr. Napleton, saith he again, *You should have let him go, i. e.* as Mr. Napleton apprehended, and all others must, you should have let him been murdered by the People: This account I had from a Gentleman in whose hearing Mr. Napleton told the Story; and so here in like manner, he saith, they should have thunder'd with their Sermons, and Censures against the Revolution in the first Fermentation, when the *Mob* were the fermenting Particles, that they might have been torn in pieces, or knocked in the head. The *Non* complying Bishops are as it were so many living Records against him, and how glad would he have been, that they had been martyred in the *first Fermentation*, that might not have been *Confessors* now, and now alive to reproach him with their Testimony and Sufferings. *They did it not*, saith he, and God, and they be thanked, say I, that *they did it not* out of Season; for there is a time to suffer, and a time to decline Suffering, a time to speak as *Confessors*, and a time to keep silence, a time to die Martyrs, and a time to fly from Martyrdom; and our Spiritual Guides and Pastors were Judges of the Season, God having left much to their prudence to act and suffer, or to forbear acting in some times and places, that they may not suffer, as to them shall seem expedient most for God's Glory, and the preservation of his Church. For it is in the spiritual, as it is in the secular Warfare, sometimes the Souldiers of Christ, but especially the Leaders must Husband their Lives more than at other times, and sometimes Spiritual Prudence directs them to be as it were prodigal, and sometimes to be sparing of their Blood. Would it have been wisdom in *Athanasius*, when there were so few faithful Bishops, to have *thunder'd* with his Sermons against the *Arrian* Heresie before the *Arrian* Mob of *Alexandria*,

dria, when it was much fitter for him to fly from their rage, that he might reserve himself for better times, and in the interim direct, and encourage the faithful, and live to settle the Church in its former State. Let us hear what he saith in his own vindication, for not *acting according to the Authority of his Character, and not thundering with Sermons, and Censures* in his Province, when he might have made a vigorous opposition, but fled to save his Life. *When they charge us with fear*, saith he, *they consider not that this reflects upon themselves, who gave occasion for it ; for if it be a fault to fly, it is a much greater to persecute*——If they reproach us for hiding our selves from those, who seek to take away our Lives, and for flying from the Persecutors, what will they say to Jacob, who fled from his Brother Esau, or to Moses, who departed into the Land of Madian for fear of Pharaoh, or to David who fled from Saul ? What would they say to the Great Elias, who hid himself because of Ahab, and fled because of Jezabell's Threatnings, as the Sons of the Prophets were also by Fifties in Caves. The Disciples of our Lord hid themselves for fear of the Jews, and Paul at Damascus being sought for by the Governour, was let down from the Wall in a Basket, and so escaped his hands. The Law appointed Cities of refuge to flee unto for the safety of those who were sought for to be put to death, but in these last Times that Word of the Father who spake before to Moses, gave Commandment, that, when his Disciples were persecuted in one City, they should flee unto another——This the Saints knew, and managed themselves accordingly——And this is the Rule for men to attain perfection, namely to do what God commands. Hence the Word himself, who became incarnate for us, when he was sought for, thought it not amiss to hide himself, as we do, or to fly from Persecution. When he was a Child he warned Joseph by an Angel to arise, and take the young Child, and his Mother, and fly into Egypt. And after Herod's death he went aside into Nazareth, because of Archelaus. When he had cured the withered hand, and the Pharisees took counsel to kill him, he departed thence, and when he had rais'd Lazarus from the dead, and was in danger by it, he walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the Wilderness. And when the Jews took up Stones to cast at him for affirming himself to have been before Abraham, he hid himself, and went out of the Temple, and passing through the midst of them, made his escape. When John had suffered Martyrdom, and his Disciples had buried his Body, Jesus hearing of it withdrew himself, took Ship, and went privately into a Desert place : What therefore is thus written of our Saviour, is written for the common benefit of Mankind. He would not permit himself to be apprehended before his time came, nor would any longer hide himself, when once it was come, but discovered himself to those, who came to take him——Being persecuted they fled, and saved themselves by lying close, but if they hap-

pened to be discovered, they were ready to suffer Martyrdom for the Faith.

Thus far the Great *Athanasius* by way of Apology for his *flying*, and *absconding*, and it is, every word of it, as good a justification of our suffering Fathers, for not *openly declaring*, and *acting*, and for not *preaching*, and *thundering* in the *first Fermentation*, when the Mob, not to name other Persons, were more terrible than *Esau*, or *Pharaoh*, or *Abah*, or *Jezabel*, or *Herod*, or the *Jews*, to which they were so like in every respect. Wherefore in all appearance, if our Fathers had declared and acted then, we had not had the comfort, and benefit of them now, but had been left like Sheep without a Shepherd. And tho' to have died, and departed in Martyrdom would have been gain, and advantage to them, and really far better than to live in such wretched times, yet their abiding in the flesh, was, and is more needful for us, and for the succession, and preservation of the Church.

But then suppose that we should admit, which we have no reason to do, that they were defective in their duty through fear, and surprize, or other human frailties, in the first, sudden, and fearful Fermentation, which so small a number could not stand against: Is not this a common and venial Infirmary? Did not *Peter* in a surprize of fear deny his Master; and the rest fly? And yet he, and all of them lived Confessors, and died Martyrs after. Have not many of the most celebrated Confessors and Martyrs, been at some time overcome with this human infirmity, especially upon sudden Revolutions, and violent Fermentations, when the Faithful could scarce know their Brethren, and who would be true, and who false? And therefore if this had indeed been the case of our suffering Fathers, it is so common, not only to Human Nature, but sometimes to the best men of it, that I would not reverence them, or their Memory after them, one jot the less upon that account. No man pretends to reverence the Memory of Father *Paul* more than our Preacher doth in his Life of *Bedell*, and in his *Travells*, altho' the Father was so timorous, that he durst not make one publick step towards a Reformation, or do one Heroick act in order to it. He would indeed often commend the Scriptures in his Sermons to the People, and once holding a *Greek Testament* in one hand, while he clapt it with the other, *This, this*, saith he, *is the Book of Life*, with more to that purpose. This occasioned a Gentleman to go to him, and expostulate with him upon his Sermon, how he could so recommend that Book, and yet act so contrary to it every day, but especially in his solemn Masses, to which he replied bursting out into tears, *Deus non mihi dedit Spiritum Lutheri*. God hath not given me the Spirit of Luther. And I question not, but if God had seen it fit that our suffering

suffering Fathers should have *thundered* in the first Fermentation, he would have poured out the *Spirit of might* upon them, and given them a thundering courage from above, which all their Adversaries, and all their Captains of Fifties, and Hundreds had not been able to resist. But this I say again was not their case, because they acted according to the standing Rules of Spiritual Wisdom, and the liberty that God hath allow'd in all Persecutions, where he is not pleased to interpose by inspired courage, and thereby over-rule the Spirits of Men. Wherefore it was not a Season for them then to *thunder*, especially with Censures: To have done so against Foreigners, would have been to no purpose, because they were of other Communions, and to have thundered against our own People, would have been to excommunicate the Multitude, which is against the Rules, and directions of the Canon Law.

But to proceed, he saith, *They left their authority entirely with their Chancellors, who acting in their name, and by Their Commission, were the same persons in Law with themselves, and that Oaths, which they thought unlawful, were tender'd to others, and taken by them in their name.* This Expression of leaving their authority with their Chancellors is ambiguous, either signifying, that they gave special Orders, and Commission upon that occasion to give Institution, and to Administer the Oath, or that the Chancellors having those Powers in their Patents before, as most Chancellors had, gave Institutions, and Administred the Oaths by their Patent Power, when those Bishops would not. If the former be meant by him, then I confess, if any of them did so, they did amiss, and what they cannot, nor I believe, will undertake to justify, but meekly acknowledge their Error, which their haughty Censour is not apt to do. But upon the best inquiry, I have had the opportunity to make, I cannot find, that one of them did so, and if our Preacher knows of any one that did, he may name him, when he pleases. But if the later be only meant by him, then they are not to be blamed for what they could not hinder their Chancellors from doing, who indeed are but too much one Person in Law with them, as Dr. Duck, Chancellor of Wells, shew'd Dr. Peirce the Bishop of that Diocese many years ago. How could they hinder their Chancellors from Administering the Oaths, who were more officious to the Government than them, and who having not the conscience, nor courage to suffer with them, were willing to signalize their good Intentions to it, whether they would or no? It is very well known how the first Thanksgiving Books, and all the Fast, and Thanksgiving Offices afterwards, were sent to their Chancellors, Officials, or Registers to be distributed about their Diocesses without them, and for this reason he might as well have said that Fasts, and Thanksgivings were observed by

their order, and direction, although they thought them unlawful.

Then it follows, *That though they thought the Oaths unlawful, yet they would scarce say so much in confidence to any of their Clergy, that asked their opinions about it, both concealing their Principles, and withdrawing from the Publick Worship, and yet not daring to act, or speak against it.* At what a rate doth he juggle here : They would scarcely say so much, but it seems they did say it, and they would scarcely say so much in confidence, when the Persons that asked them their Opinions of the Oaths were it may be in their Opinions, Persons not be confided in. Indeed they had need be upon their guard at that time, but more especially the Archbishop, the Person whom he means, had reason to suspect that some of the Clergy, and others came to entrap him, as the *Pharisees* did our Saviour. I have heard him complain of it, and therefore his common answer to some, whom he suspected, or knew not, was to this effect : *What need you come to me to ask my Opinion, the World knows it, and my Practice declares it, and you knew it before you came; and if it be my reasons, that you would ask me, then let this one suffice, I cannot take contrary Oaths.* But where he had confidence in Persons, no man spoke more or better upon the Subject, as many are ready to attest. And I would ask our Preacher, how could the notoriety of his Practice, and particularly his withdrawing from Publick Worship, be consistent with concealing his Principles; which not only the Learned, but the unlearned knew; Captain *Tom's* Regiment, and the *Watermen* knew them, as well as the Bishops and the Clergy, and those, who forsooth went to him, to ask his opinion about the Oath, might as well have asked him what Religion he was of, for the one was as well known as the other.

Then he tells, *That they hoped at this rate to have held their Sees, and enjoy'd their Revenues, while in a silent, but fearful manner, they still adhered to an Interest, which, as one of them wrote, they could no more part with, than with their Interest in Heaven.* The very reverend, and worthy Prelate, who said that, did neither in a silent, or fearful manner adhere to that Interest, for it is very well known with what boldness, and danger too, he preached up our duty as Subjects at *Cambridge*, and other Places of his Diocese immediately before the first Fermentation, not to mention the Interest he espoused in the Convention. But I believe he more especially means the Archbishop, who never came to speak his mind there; but nothing can be more absurd than to ascribe it to a design of holding his Revenues: first because no man ever despised them more, especially in comparison of his Duty; and secondly, because he must needs know, that coming, or not coming to the Convention, he could not hold his See long, if a new Government were set up. The Reasons will one day be told, why he would not come thither;

thither : it was not fear, but conscience, and a real persuasion, that his appearance there would do no good, which made him decline coming to a Meeting, which he thought was so illegally, and unauthoritatively called.

Then it follows, *Thus did they abandon the Government of the Church*, and I will say just as the King abandoned, and relinquished the Kingdom, or as a man abandons his House, that is driven from it by force of Arms. Is not this a modest way of representing matter of fact, and doth it not excellently well become an Ecclesiastical Historian to call *suspending and ejecting. Abandoning* ? The word might perhaps have passed in the next Age, but no man besides our Preacher would have called it so now, that is not *Abandoned* by Modesty, and the love of Truth.

Then it follows, *We were in such a Posture by their means, that neither our Laws, nor our Princes could bear it long.* What our Princes would, or could have born in that Affair, I cannot determine, but it is well known, how they were importuned after the Victor's return from the *Boyn*, by our Preacher and others of his Robe, to put other Bishops into the places of the deprived, or perhaps it might have been longer before the Schism had been commenced. The writ of Intrusion was also devised, and prepared in order to this *good Work*, and the pleasure his *Hero* took in the Invention of that Expedient shews, that he was not so incapable, as he * makes him of craft, or violence, and that there was *something in the † World he thought worth much art, and great management*, namely to get Possession of an Archbishoprick worth five thousand pounds a year. But then as for our Laws they would have born with it, as long as our Princes pleased, for it is a Maxim in our Constitution, which our Preacher (if he knew) forgot, or dissembled, that *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, and whether it had not been more for the honour of our Church, and the reputation of our Religion to have deferred filling up the Sees of our suffering Fathers, till their deaths had really made them vacant, I leave any indifferent Person to judge. I am sure Diocesses have been longer kept vacant, than that in probability would have been, in the best Reigns, and for less important Reasons, and if the like forbearance had been practised now, this Schism, this horrible and unnatural Schism had been prevented, nor had we lost the unvaluable advantage we had before over our Adversaries, by now having, as they have had, Bishop against Bishop, and Pope against Pope.

And then to conclude all, saith he, most triumphantly : *Therefore the same authority made their Sees void, that had displaced the Non-conformists in 61. and the Popish Bishops in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.* That it was the same authority, which displaced the Popish Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and the Non-conformists in 61. every true English-

Englishman will confess ; but that *that* Authority, and *this*, which deprived our suffering Fathers is the same, a great part of the Nation, who are as well versed in our Antiquities, Histories, Records, and Laws, as any other men, and have studied our Constitution to inform their Consciences, as every one knows, utterly deny ; so that our Preacher's asserting *that* Authority and *this* to be the same, without proving it, is precarious and signifies just nothing at all. I will not take upon me to be a Judge in this Controversie, for it is above my Sphere, but only set down some Observations ; which I have made in reading Books on both sides. First then as to the Authority of our Hereditary Kings, I observe, first, that those who in former Reigns have maintained the Cause of our Non Hereditary Princes, never had the confidence to deny it, but the other side have always taken upon them to deny their *Power* to be *Authority*, because in their opinion it wanted Right. Secondly, I have observed, that the Arguments, or rather Argument for the Authority of our Hereditary Kings is in all Writers of all Reigns, and Ages one, and the same, but in other Writers various, different and inconsistent one with another, and as for this Government, our Preacher advanced one Argument for it in his *Pastoral Letter*, for which the House of Commons damned the whole Book to the Flames, where all the other Arguments for taking the Oath, but Dr. *Sherlock's* Providential Right were burnt together with *Conquest* by the hand of the common Hangman. Thirdly, I have observed, that many Usurpers of this Kingdom, have notwithstanding all their other patched Titles, pretended also to *Birth-right*, as the best of all, and I appeal to the best Friends of the present Government, if they would not most willingly exchange all their other Titles for that, as the Fox in the Fable, who when he was hotly pursued by the Hounds would have given all his *shifts*, which he proudly reckoned up but a little before, for that single one of the Cat. And how much it once prevailed above all the rest, upon the most solemn hearing, that ever was on both sides in any Kingdom, may be seen in *Roll. Par. 39 Hen. VI. n. 10.* which I cited before, and once more recommend to the Reader, and to our Preacher too. But which soever of the two is the best side of the Controversie, it did not become him of all men in the Kingdom, to affirm those Authorities to be the same, who had declared *Henry IV.* to be an Usurper, and the meeting of a *Convention* without the King's Writ to be an *Essential Nullity* ; and who likewise in his third Discourse, deliver'd to his Clergy concerning *the infallibility, and authority of the Church*, declares that in all Constitutions among men, the most evident thing, is this, *where the supream Authority rests, that there should be no danger of mistaking*, and where, and in whom it evidently rests by our constitutions, those who have read the many recognition Acts in our Statute Book, and the Oath of Supremacy may easily tell. But